

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 213—JULY 1898.

## ART. I.—THE DIVINA COMMEDIA AND THE MASNAVI:

DANTE'S Divina Commedia and the Masnavi-i-Ma'navi, or Spiritual Couplets, of the Persian Jalaludin Rumi are both alike documents of the highest importance for the comparative study of religions and religious developments. The Masnavi was written in the latter half of the 13th century of the Christian era, and the Divina Commedia in the early years of the 14th century, and the two poems are thus very nearly contemporary. Both alike are veritable encyclopædias of the religious sentiments, beliefs and speculations of the time, written by men who were at once sincere believers in their respective systems and thoroughly competent expounders of them. Both poems again are masterpieces of literary form. Dante is admittedly the greatest of Italian poets and Rumi is almost equally admired in Persia.

Travellers are always most struck at first by the obvious differences between home and foreign manners and customs. It is not till later on that they see the general similarity of human nature everywhere. The student of Dante passes through much the same experience. The intervening six centuries seem to have placed an insurmountable barrier between himself and Dante. The ideas of the old poet seem so absurd, grotesque and fantastic that it almost looks as if his mind worked differently from ours. What are we to make of these strange Chimæras? The terrible Minos passing sentence with a flick of his mighty tail; the great slough of pitch with the feet of sinners sticking out of it like so many milestones; the troops of venomous demons falling foul of one another in their eagerness to secure their prey; the monstrous Centaur who is so obliging as to give the pilgrims a mount; Lucifer himself gnawing men who have no bodies to be gnawed, and yet tamely allowing the pilgrims to make a ladder of his huge, shaggy legs—all bewilder us. Mr. Ruskin, indeed, boldly proclaims that the grotesque is a mark of the highest Art; but this hard saying does not clear the difficulty up, at least for inartistic

readers. Dean Church offers an apology for these "gurgoyles" which seems more reasonable. He says that the subjects handled by Dante could be taught only through symbols, and that he was forced to use such symbols as his hearers could understand. A story is told of a schoolmistress who held a child's fingers over a candle, in order to convey to its mind some idea of Hell. Her method showed more zeal than discretion, but was probably effectual. Dante taught his dull pupils in the same way. He, so to speak, burned their fingers in the candle.

What strikes us as offensive and irreverent in Rumi's symbolism may be explained and accounted for by the same considerations. Wishing to convey some idea of the soul's longing and love for God and its desire for intimate spiritual communion with Him, he availed himself of the language used by an earthly lover to the object of his affection. In this he was by no means singular. A host of mystical divines in Europe, as well as in Asia, have used similar language, and many of them with much greater license than he allowed himself. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who has been called the last of the Latin Fathers, and who was, perhaps, the best representative of the mind of the Church in the 12th century, in his exposition of the Canticles, uses language quite as sensuous as any to be found in Rumi. Indeed, some faint echoes of this language may be detected in devotional poetry of the present day. In one of his letters Mr. Kingsley expresses a strong opinion that all images derived from the Canticles ought to be rigorously excised from hymns used in the services of the Church.

These considerations may serve to explain the use of gross material symbolism by mediaeval writers, but cannot make it palatable to modern readers. They cannot stomach such coarse pabulum as some of the descriptions in the *Inferno*. Dante-worshippers put this down to squeamishness and over-fastidiousness; but is there not a better and weightier reason for it? Is not this gross symbolism repugnant because it is, at any rate at the present time, positively misleading and mischievous? Macaulay remarks that Milton's description of Satan is more impressive than Dante's because it is more vague and indefinite. A Spirit is essentially a thing of mystery. A poet who strips off the mystery and rigs a Spirit out with hoofs and horns and shaggy hide, makes him ludicrous according to our present notions. And the same principle applies to the entire unseen world. To define is to limit, and to limit is to degrade, the unseen. To use a term of Logic, intension is gained only by the sacrifice of extension. Nowadays when a man talks of God as familiarly as if He were a man in the next street, he is set down



as a charlatan. This gross symbolism was good relatively to its date. It is not good absolutely for all time. It is only adapted to convey crude ideas of the unseen world to people of small intellectual capacity, and those of more advanced intelligence have good and solid reasons for disliking it.

We have dwelt on this point at some length because readers of Dante are often in danger of being carried away by the enthusiasm of recent critics of that poet. It should be borne in mind that the cult of Dante, now so prevalent, is the outcome of that reaction in favour of mediæval modes of thought and sentiment—that “desire to find something deeper and truer than satisfied the 18th century”—which manifested itself first in the domain of æsthetics in Germany, and next in the domain of religion among the Neo-catholics of France and the Oxford Tractarians in England. In estimates of Dante emanating from adherents of these schools of thought we must not expect to find wholly unbiased criticism. We have entered a region of faith, where to question is to sin. Thus, when Larmartine ventured to say something disparaging of Dante, M. Ozanam treated him almost as a blasphemer and a moral delinquent. And even Dean Church, though we feel constrained to admire his eloquence and scholarship, does not write like a man entirely free from prepossession and bias. He surveys all Dante's work and pronounces it without exception very good.

We must discount somewhat of this over-appreciation. But we do not fall a whit behind these critics in our recognition of the substantial and invaluable service rendered to humanity by the author of the Divine Comedy. Religion, in one shape or another, never ceases to preach and proclaim the reality of the unseen world; but it has seldom, if ever, found more potent and faith-compelling voices than that of Dante or that of his Persian contemporary. Now-a-days we have lost the key to their symbolism; we are out of touch with it; it does not appeal to us, but rather repels us. Nevertheless we see that these men, each in his own way and according to the light that was in him, were enforcing the eternal verities, that a God exists and that man has a soul to be saved or lost.

Not only did Dante and Rumi deliver one and the same great message. They both used the same theological language, namely that of Scholasticism. Dante implicitly follows St. Thomas Aquinas, while Rumi employs the terminology of the Mutakallamin, the Schoolmen of Islam. Scholasticism has been defined as the union of a theological subject matter with a philosophical method. The Schoolmen took the simple statements of the Bible and of the Koran, classified, compared, analysed and drew deductions from them according to the

rules of Aristotelian logic and by the aid of Aristotelian forms of thought. They represented this process as a mere development and unfolding of truths previously latent in the sacred writings; but it amounted to more than this. Not only did it express the doctrines of the faith in a strange and novel language, but it also profoundly modified men's conceptions of those doctrines, their ways of picturing and making them intelligible to themselves. Just as an acid added to an alkali produces a salt, Aristotelian forms of thought made religious doctrines different from what they were before. Aristotle, the "Master of those who know," has exercised an equally potent influence on the theology of Dante and on that of Rumi. The technical terms used by each are mostly identical, as may be seen from the list given by Schmölders in his "*Documenta philosophiæ Arabum*."

Nor is this surprising; for the School-men of the East and West both drew their information from the same sources. Neither could read Greek, and both had to depend on the authority of Arabic translations. Dante places Averroes, not among the heretics and schismatics, but in the respectable company of the great philosophers.

There was another influence besides Scholasticism which deeply influenced both Dante and Rumi, especially the latter. This was Mysticism. In its widest aspect, Mysticism may be regarded as an endeavour by religious minds to attain more abstract and elevated conceptions of the Supreme Power wherein we live and move and have our being. In his "First Principles," Mr. Herbert Spencer says: "We are obliged to regard every phenomenon as the manifestation of some power by which we are acted on, and though omnipresence is unthinkable, yet, as experience discloses no bounds to the diffusion of phenomena, we are unable to think of any bounds to the presence of this power, while the criticisms of science teach us that this power is incomprehensible." Religion is always trying to conceive and picture this power to itself, and Science is always showing its conceptions to be open to objection. And after a while Religion, though still clinging as firmly as ever to its conviction of the existence of the Supreme Power, is led to seek for some higher and wider conception of that Power.

Religious minds, in proportion as they feel the influence of scientific criticism, come to see that the Supreme Power is something more mysterious than popular conceptions represent it to be.

Thus in the 4th century B. C. some of the more cultivated Athenians grew dissatisfied with the prevailing conceptions of the Deity embodied in Kronos, Zeus, Ares, Aphrodite and the other gods of the period, and set up a sort of esoteric cult,



which propounded and inculcated more elevated conceptions. This cult was called the "Mysteries" of Eleusis, and those who were initiated into these Mysteries assumed the name of Mystics. The name and the mental tendency and sentiments denoted by it passed on to Christian thinkers through the medium of the Neo-platonic philosophy of Alexandria. The writings of Clement and Origen, the "Christian Platonists of Alexandria," diffused mystical modes of thought amongst Greek theologians, and those ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, the disciple of St. Paul, which appeared towards the end of the 5th century, did the same for the Western Church. Dionysius was regarded as almost an inspired authority. Dante arranges his angelic hierarchies, the "Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Princedoms, Powers," the lineal descendants of Plato's "Ideas," in the precise order given by Dionysius; and Abelard was held to have committed one of his most heinous offences in questioning the identity of Dionysius with St. Denis, the patron saint of France.

In the hands of the Neo-platonic commentators Aristotle himself acquired a Neo-platonic colouring and the Arabic translators received and transmitted him with this blend to East and West alike. The Dabistan records an opinion that the belief of the Sufis, or Persian Mystics, is identical with that of the Platonists, and Mr. Grote notes the resemblance of the ideas of Hafiz to those in Plato's *Phædrus*.

It is, perhaps, needless to say that Mysticism is a term used very loosely. Sometimes it is used to denote allegorical interpretation, sometimes emotional religion in general. But, as used accurately, it means the endeavour to attain truer, deeper and more abstract conceptions of the Supreme Power that pervades and sustains the Universe. It stripped Deity of emotion, intelligence, will and personality, and tried to think of it as "Pure Actuality", the all pervading Essence and Soul of the Universe, having its centre everywhere and its circumference nowhere. The Universe was not brought into existence by the fiat of a Divine Architect, but generated by a series of emanations out of this abstract Being, each of such emanations containing more or less real Being, in proportion to its proximity to its source. Man, the last of the emanations, has thus some particles of the One Real Being immanent within him, and by introspection he can see and realise it. This is done, not by the reason, but by spiritual illumination and intuition. The Mystic must mortify "self," abstract himself from the distractions of sense and cogitation, and may then behold the truth in the ground of his own soul. "Introrsum ascendit," to use his own phrase.

Captivated by love of his Divine Original, he strives for communion and re-absorption therein.

These conceptions, so highly abstract and scarcely to be apprehended by strenuous and deep contemplation, could be communicated to others only through the medium of symbols and images. And here Mysticism drew a Nemesis upon itself, for the symbols it employed were more sensuous and material than those against which it had originally rebelled. Nevertheless it commended itself to many minds of the more contemplative sort, and it harmonised with many common forms of religious sentiment. And many passages were found both in the Bible and the Koran which, when interpreted allegorically, seemed to lend support to the system.

The Masnavi consists of a long series of apologues and parables illustrating the various stages of the mystic pilgrim's progress, through what Attar called "the seven valleys" of Search, Love, Gnosis, Detachment, Unification, Amazement and Self-annihilation, to ecstatic union with the Absolute. On the other hand, in the Divine Comedy the pilgrim retains his individuality and personality throughout. He even takes his earthly politics with him into the Empyrean heaven. Dante was no mystic. He was too sober-minded to be carried away, like Rumi, by violent religious emotion. His enthusiasm never rises to frenzy. But nevertheless the Divine Comedy shows not infrequent traces of the influence of the mystical theologians, Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Richard and Hugh of St. Victor and the illustrious Franciscan Bonaventura. It is said that Dante was himself a "Tertiary" of the Franciscan Order, and this may have inclined him to the teaching of the last named mystic.

Love was the central principle of Rumi's system, and also of Dante's. In the case of the latter it is love with a difference, but still love. He describes the Deity as the central Unity and Light of lights, which mirrors itself in the innumerable facets of the universe, and each such facet as having more or less affinity to its divine Source, according to the amount of light reflected in it, and burning with proportionate desire to approximate to that divine Source. The nine orders of angels revolve around the central Unity with velocities proportionate to the degree of light, and consequently of love to God, possessed by each. The nine heavenly spheres move faster or slower, as they are nearer to, or further from, the Empyrean, the throne of God. Men obey this all-pervading attraction consciously, but natural agents unconsciously, according to the law, or "form," of their physical constitution;

"Le cose tutte quante  
Hann' ordine tra loro, e questo è forma  
Che l'universo a Dio fa simigliante."



They all strive to attain their own perfection and chief good, and to conform to their divine archetype. When they fail to do so, it is because matter is intractable and "slow to respond to the intention of the Divine Artisan." Dante (following Aristotle) calls matter mere "potentiality;" and it seems to play in his system a part like that played by the figment of "Not being" in Rumi's philosophy. It is the Ahriman who is responsible for all the defects and evils in the universe. In the case of conscious agents, Dante finds another Ahriman in free will. Men mistake a false good for the true good, and choose the false in preference to the true.

The Metaphor of the mirror, above referred to, is a very favourite one with mystical writers. Rumi tells a story of one who thought that a mirror would be the most suitable present to make to Joseph, the type of Supreme beauty, for in it he might see the reflection of his own perfect loveliness. Dante represents Rachel, the type of the contemplative life, as gazing at a mirror, in order to discern in her own image the divine element in her soul.

Rumi and mystics generally are fond of comparing Supreme Being to the Ocean, wherefrom all particular rivers and streams arise, and whereto they all flow back. In other words Rumi identifies Supreme Being with all real existence. Dante, on the other hand, though he uses the same metaphor, applies it only to the Divine Will.

" In la sua voluntade è nostra pace,  
Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si muove  
Ciò ch' ella crea e che Natura face."

It is the Divine will which, as it were, permeates all things, attracts all by a sort of centripetal force. Thus Dante's conception of Supreme Being retains the quasi-human elements of Will and Personality. It is less abstract than Rumi's, and carefully avoids what theologians call Pantheism. Dante uses mystical imagery with a difference which saves his orthodoxy.

Again, in the beatific vision, Dante sees "all substance and accidents" comprehended in the Light of Lights. This is exactly the sort of language Rumi uses to express his conception of the ultimate reabsorption of all phenomenal existence in the Noumenon, the One self-existent Being. But Dante does not mean this. While enjoying the vision, he retains his own individuality, and the spirits and souls of the saints around him retain theirs. He is only speaking allegorically, and his meaning seems to be something similar to that of our liturgy when it speaks of "incorporation in a mystical body." It is a spiritual feeling with him rather than a logical proposition.

In the "Convito," Dante says that the human soul, through its highest "potentiality," the Reason, which is the part least affected by matter, may, in some favourable cases, actually participate in the Divine Nature. In the Paradise, he explains his meaning by saying that Reason has the potency of receiving impressions as well from the senses as from the Divine Intelligence, exactly as wax can receive impressions from a seal. This is Aristotle's doctrine of the "Passive Intellect," the highest function of the individual human soul, which participates in and is illuminated by the universal "Active Intellect" that pervades all things. And this same "Active Intellect" was afterwards developed by the Neoplatonists into the Logos, the 'Aql i kull of the Arabic translators and of Rumi's poem. But an orthodox Catholic like Dante, when talking of the participation of the individual particular human Reason in the universal ubiquitous Reason, did not, of course, mean what out-and-out mystics meant. Elsewhere he says: "A wiser than thou has erred in making the soul disjoined from passive intellect (Intelletto possibile)." The person referred to is Aristotle or Averroes, and the error consisted in the virtual denial of personal immortality. For according to this view only the universal Intellect, the impersonal Anima Mundi, was really enduring and eternal. Averroes was condemned by the ninth Lateran Council on this very ground. In the last quoted passage Dante seems to confuse the passive with the active intellect, but his meaning is perfectly clear.

Dante's account of the beatific vision itself suggests mystical analogies. Catholic theologians, treating of what they term "experimental mysticism," say that Deity is perceived by the rapt energumen as a "luminous darkness." Probably they mean to convey the idea that he is "blinded by excess of light," as he approximates to the Fount of light. This idea is the leading motive, so to speak, of Dante's symbolism in the Paradise. As he draws nearer and nearer to the Empyrean Heaven, he sees Beatrice become brighter and more beautiful, and the light grows more and more dazzling till he beholds the ineffable splendours of the Light of Lights.

Dante is quite in accord with Rumi in his view of spiritual knowledge (gnosis, or ma' rifat). It is Virgil, the type of earthly knowledge, who conducts him to the top of the mount of Purgatory; but Beatrice, the type of spiritual knowledge, leads him on from that point to the Empyrean Heaven, and it is St. Bernard the contemplative mystic who introduces him to the beatific vision. With him, as with the Neo-platonists, Aristotle's "Theoria," the conscious activity of the speculative intellect, meant the intuition of (theou orāsis), and the object it aimed



at was to behold, God. He quotes from Boethius : "Cernere Deum est finis." Further, he agrees with the Christian mystics that this end could be attained only by those who followed the monastic life of contemplation. Bonaventura's influence is here clearly apparent.

On the other hand, the mystics' disregard of outward forms and ordinances is altogether repugnant to Dante. In his parable of "Moses and the Shepherd," Rumi affirms the indifference of outward observances to the spiritual man, and elsewhere he argues that mistake of fact is a valid excuse for even idolatry. Dante will have no such laxity. "Nulla salus extra ecclesiam," is his inflexible rule. All who lack the seal of baptism, from whatever cause, are rigorously excluded from his Paradise. The exceptions to this are only apparent, and prove the rule. Statius had been converted by Virgil's "Pollio," which nearly all the early Fathers except St Jerome held to contain prophecies of Christ. (Compare the line in the "Dies Irae" which runs, "Teste David cum Sibylla.") Trajan had been delivered by the intercession of St Gregory, and Rippius by the excellent certificate of character given him by Virgil in the Aeneid. Nevertheless Dante tempers the rigour of the strict law by an infusion of equity. Experience had taught him that it was impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the Church and the World. He could not shut his eyes to the fact that there was nearly as much of the old Adam in the one as in the other. "Cucullus non facit monachum." Characters shade off into one another by imperceptible degrees. Moved by these considerations, he did not consign the virtuous heathen and unbaptized infants to the bottomless pit, but located them in the "Limbus Patrum," which is not a place of suffering at all. And in his Purgatory he provided another place for all souls of intermediate characters, neither very bad, nor very good. It may be noted that Purgatory was not established as a dogma of faith till 1438 (by the Council of Florence).

It may be observed here that Rumi, after dispensing with established ordinances, found it necessary to establish others of his own invention and thus drew down a Nemesis upon himself.

He says he found the "Romans" to be persons of very torpid and unemotional temperaments, and that he accordingly introduced music and dancing into the religious services of his "Maulavis," in order to brighten them and excite their religious emotions. Anyone who attends one of the services of the "Dancing Darveshes" at Pera may see what they have come to. They suggest anything but true religious emotion. The Imam watches the steps of the energumens, as they waltz

round the room, with all the critical air of a dancing master, and the energumens themselves look as if they were going through a mechanical routine. St. Bernard says that spiritual torpor (*Accidia*, Rumi's *Taqlid*), is a very common incident of the monastic life; and, if one may judge from appearances, a routine of dancing produces this state of mind quite as much as a routine of rites and ceremonies.

In their use of allegory and allegorical interpretation Dante and Rumi are entirely in accord. Allegorical interpretation is the never-failing resource of those who wish to put new wine into old bottles—to infuse a new spirit and significance into the ancient letter. By its aid Philo, the contemporary of St. Paul, contrived to read nearly all Greek Philosophy into the Old Testament. Clement and Origen, the Christian Platonists of Alexandria, fortified by his authority and by that of St. Paul himself, applied the same method to the New Testament, and managed to read into it much Neo-platonist philosophy. Origen modestly contented himself with ascribing three senses to the words of Holy Writ; but later Christian expositors added a fourth, and thus Christian exegesis came to recognise four distinct meanings, the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical, enumerated in the following couplet,

“ *Litera gesta refert, quod credas Allegoria,  
“ *Moralis quod agas, quod speres Anagogia.*”*

The Persian Mystics went still further and attributed no less than seven meanings to every word of the Koran. Some Christian authorities laid down the wholesome rule, that arguments could be based on the literal sense only; but this was a mere counsel of perfection. Thus, for instance, the claim of the Church to pre-eminence over the Empire was supported by the fancied analogy of the sun and moon, and by reference to the two swords of St. Peter. In the “*De Monarchiâ*,” Dante himself discusses these arguments as gravely as they were propounded. In his dedicatory epistle to his patron, Can Grande, he clearly intimates that the *Divine Comedy* has many meanings besides the literal, and that all who wish to comprehend it must look beneath the surface. It is precisely this allegorical element which constitutes the main charm of the poem. “The eye sees what it brings with it to see.” People read into the poem their own feelings and experiences, their own memories and hopes, and thus it becomes a sacred book to them, and they resent all criticism of it as a sort of profanity. Even the most unsympathetic reader can hardly fail to be touched by the poet's noble allegory of Beatrice—the lost idol of his youth transfigured into the inspiring and guiding angel of his riper age, a veritable



"Santa Sophia," like her prototype of whom it was said :  
 "She is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted  
 image of the power of God, and the mirror of his goodness."

There is no Beatrice in the Masnavi; but it is full of allegory from beginning to end, and this is what is chiefly admired in it. An English student of the poem once told his Munshi that he did not care to go behind the literal sense, and the Munshi replied with truth that, if he was going to stop there, he had better leave the poem alone altogether.

The main difference between Dante and Rumi is, of course, that the first was a man of action and the second a man of contemplation pure and simple. It was said : "There is no monkery in Islam;" but Rumi was a monk to all intents and purposes. Stirring events were taking place around him, but they affected him not. Balkh, his birthplace, was taken by Chingiz Khan when he was a child, and his parents had to flee from one place to another till they at length found an asylum at Qonia, the Iconium of St. Paul, in the dominions of the Western Seljuk kings; and thenceforward Rumi was dead to the outer world.

In the West some very advanced Mystics, such as St. Bernard and St. Theresa, have at times emerged from their cloisters and shown the greatest practical capacity; but it is not so in the East, and Rumi was a mystic of the true dreamy Oriental type, capable of nothing but contemplation.

"The East bowed low before the blast  
 In patient deep disdain,  
 She let the legions thunder past,  
 And plunged in thought again."

On the other hand, Dante was a man who played a considerable part in the active drama of his time. He had taken part in the government of Florence and been banished by the opposite faction before he reached the midway point of his life's journey, and afterwards he lived at various courts and was employed as ambassador to Venice and elsewhere. Throughout his life he was more or less concerned in the struggles of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, and was always warning and exhorting the princes and peoples of Italy, after the manner of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah. He was a politician to the core, and carried his politics with him into his loftiest reveries. When Beatrice leaves him in the Empyrean heaven, she does not recite a doxology or a benediction, but points out the vacant throne reserved for his favourite, the Emperor Henry VII. Of course this has led many, like Voltaire, Lamartine and Landor, to see in the *Inferno* nothing beyond a malignant outburst of political animosity. But the answer to this seems to be, that Dante consigns his friends

and foes alike to eternal punishment. Cavalcante, Brunetto Latini and Frederic II fare no better than Filippo Argenti and Boniface VIII. The poet, as Tennyson says: "Was dowered with the love of love, the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn." Dante was, no doubt, a good hater; but he had good and just cause for hating most of those whom he put in his pillory. He was a merciless, but yet a fairly impartial, censor of his time. He has said very hard things of the Church; but anyone who takes the trouble to look up the history of the 12th and 13th centuries may satisfy himself that they were not too hard. The one object of the Roman curia seemed to be to assert its claim to supreme temporal dominion, and in pursuit of this object even the greatest Popes, such as Gregory VII and Innocent III, did not shrink from provoking internecine civil wars and continued anarchy. In Dante's view the only possible saviour of society, the only Ormuzd who could make head against this Ahriman, was a powerful emperor, and he accordingly treated all opponents of the emperor as children of darkness and consigned them to the bottomless pit. Florence sentenced him to death; John XXII tried to dig up his bones, and the Council of Trent condemned him as a heretic; but few would now deny that he was right and they were wrong.

Rumi had no time for such merely mundane work as making war on the miscreants who would not render to Caesar the things which were Caesar's. With "the lesser warfare"—that against infidels and heretics—he had no concern. His time was devoted to the "greater warfare," namely the spiritual combat against his own lusts and passions, and all the other obstacles to communion and re-union with "The Truth," or sole real Being. The Masnavi begins with the words:—"Hearken to the reed-flute." This is the instrument whose quaint, weird and plaintive notes may now be heard in the Pera services. The reed-flute sings, not to the ear of sense, but to the inner spirit, the tale of its love for its native osier bed, its sufferings through banishment therefrom, and its ardent desire to return home. It is a type of the soul, which feels a similar love for its divine home; has to bear similar pangs of absence, and indulges similar hopes. Love is the basis of the whole system. Aristotle called tragedy "the purification of the mind by pity and terror;" and it may be said that the Masnavi is an attempt to purify religious sentiments by the emotion of love. It is the motive which impels the pilgrim to start on "The way," and at once his "Plato and his Galen"—the guide of his intellect and the medicine which cures all his spiritual ailments. Love answers all doubts and puts carnal reason to silence. Reason suggests that "The Truth," the Supreme Power by



which we live and move, is only a blind Necessity, compelling us to go this way or that, and inflicting as much evil on us as good ; but love has its answers ready. It explains all the troubles and trials of this mortal life by the analogy of earthly love. An affectionate child makes excuses for its father's cruelty, and a lover for the coquetries of his mistress, now looking at him with frowning eyes and now encouraging him by the smile on her lips. Some evils may be probationary, some medicinal, and some due to "Not-being," which is at once nothing and yet a very pernicious something. Even death itself is presumably the gate to a higher form of life. "I died as earth," the poet says, "and rose a plant ; I died a plant and rose an animal ; I died an animal and rose a man. I shall die a man and rise what passes human conception."

The poet, following Aristotle, means to say that earth, absorbed into plants, rises to vegetable life, and plants, eaten by animals, are absorbed into animal life, and so on. Milton has the same idea. As to "Compulsion," Rumi says the word makes him angry. When the pilgrim's will is identified with the divine will, he rejoices equally whatever befalls him ; for the rain drop of his own will has become the pearl of divine will. Love divines the truth contained in the text : "Allah is nearer to us than our neck veins." Love incites us to dig for the "hidden treasure within us." It apprehends the truth contained in the tradition : "There are times when I am so near to Allah that neither angel nor prophet can attain to it."

The Mystic can at times "shake off outward sensations and reflection on them, like leaves off a tree," and realise the unseen as vividly as ordinary people realise what they see and handle. Rumi tells a story of an old man who refused to weep for his dead children, on the ground that he could withdraw at will into this state of abstraction and behold his dear ones still playing around him. The poet seems at times to be caught up into the third heaven, like St. Paul, and talks in a way that makes sober-minded people think that he is beside himself. Nevertheless this high spiritual exaltation was not the invariable and constant habit of his mind. *Non semper arcum tendit Apollo*. As with St. Paul, his love towards God involved love for man as a corollary. And he concludes his "Testament," which sums up his practical teaching, with the weighty words : "The best man is he who doeth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short, and guideth men aright."

---

NOTE.—Want of space compels me to omit all notice of other parallels between the Divine comedy and the Masnavi, especially the resemblance of the marvels seen by Dante in his vision to those seen by Muhammad in his ascent to heaven. Both Dante's and Muhammad's visions seem to have been inspired by the Talmud (See Deutsch on Islam).

## ART. II.—BHOTAN: THE UNKNOWN INDIAN STATE.

L YING within the confines of common-place Bengal is to be found a foreign country of independent government, with the internal affairs and the geography of which we are, perhaps, less familiar than with those of Tibet or Corea. This unexplored land has its southern limit scarcely 320 miles from Calcutta, one point of it being only 32 miles from a busy railway track; while, recently, a branch line has been opened, with two little stations, rejoicing in such names as Dam-Dim and Mál Bazár, pitched right upon the foreign boundary. It is beset on every side, save the N. and N. E., by districts ruled by regular Bengal officials—parcelled-out, well-ordered, taxed, policed, in large part occupied by European land-owners. Nevertheless, in spite of this proximity, the territory remains to this day neglected, unknown, uncivilised.

Bhotan,\* the country to which we are referring—although touched everywhere along its southern border by such sober, jog-trot districts as the Duars and Kamrup, with Sikkim now in great part opened up on its west, and Assam clasping it closely on the south-east—continues, even in 1898, absolutely uninfluenced by British ways, or by British law and order. Embedded it may be, indeed, in the thick of the civilisation we have given to India, yet Bhotan survives, the only barbarous State within our actual frontiers. Journey 320 miles or so from the metropolis of India, and we stand within the limits of a kingdom where decent government is despised, where oppression, murder, and civil war are normal conditions, where even slavery exists (let our philanthropists be told it with bated breath) unchecked.

Now, to begin with, here is a strange fact. A British representative has been posted in every other Native State within our Indian borders except in Bhotan. Even in an autonomous realm such as Nepal, with which we intermeddle so gingerly, we have been careful to keep installed in the capital a Political Resident of advanced military rank, attended by an English medical officer and an English engineer. So, too, in Kashmir and Ladak, and in an exterior kingdom such as Afghanistan, the Viceroy possesses his accredited agents. Here, however, is the one curious exception. In Bhotan is placed not a single

---

\* The usual spelling *Bhutan*, adopted by the Indian Government on Hunterian principles, is incorrect. The name is really derived from the word *Bod*, the Tibetan designation for their own country, which is pronounced everywhere, except in Ladak, as *Bhôt*, or *Bhō*. Thus the name should properly be spelt *Bhotan*, a term first applied to the country by the Gurkhas and said to mean "the end of Bhot," i.e., of Tibet. In Bhotan itself the people call their land *Druk-yul* or *Ayul*, sometimes also *Dharma-yul*. The Tibetans style it *Lho-yul*, and the Lepchas of Sikkim call it *Pru*.



British emissary to influence public affairs and to report progress to the Imperial Government. Of what may be doing there, we are practically ignorant ; and, perhaps, it is as well that we should be so. Indeed, the last occasion on which we had any political dealings with the country, was 33 years ago ; and then it was only because we could hardly help taking action.

The history of our relations with Bhotan since British rule began in Bengal is a brief, yet not uninteresting, chapter.

In 1772 occurred the first connection of the Indian Government with this State. Kuch Behar having been plundered by Bhotanese, the Nazah Deo appealed to the British for protection. Accordingly, troops consisting of only two companies of sepoy, with two pieces of cannon, under command of a Captain Jones, were sent to the rescue. This small force, without any difficulty, wrested from the invaders the chief town of Kuch Behar, which they had garrisoned, and, clearing all before them, followed the Bhotanese into their fastnesses, recovered the young prince, who had been kidnapped, and gutted Daling and other of the native forts.

Bhotan practically lay at the mercy of the Company through the energy of this redoubtable Captain Jones. Here, however, the great Tibetan Lama of Tashi Lhünpo intervened, transmitting to Warren Hastings so modest, yet withal so dignified, a letter, that the Governor-General was touched, forgave the Bhotanese, and restored the lands they had held prior to their aggression on Kuch Behar.

In 1774, Mr. George Bogle, commissioned by Warren Hastings, visited these regions on his way into Tibet. He brought State letters to the Deb Raja of Bhotan and was well received everywhere in the country. He made a sojourn of four months at the capital ; and this period was spent in collecting information concerning the commercial products of Bhotan. As evidence of the sagacity and keen interest with which Hastings prosecuted the smallest enterprise, it may be mentioned that he had given injunctions to his agent to plant potatoes at various stages on the journey. This Bogle did at many places in Bhotan, and the potato is now a common vegetable in the land. Next, in 1783, the Governor-General despatched Lieutenants Turner and Davies and a surgeon named Saunders on a political mission to Bhotan and Tibet ; and these three likewise experienced excellent and respectful treatment. Again, in 1811, the country was entered by an Englishman—not an official this time, the traveller being Mr. Thomas Manning, the friend of Charles Lamb, who ultimately succeeded in penetrating as far as Lhása in Tibet. Both in going and in returning, Manning staid sometime at

Paro, the chief town in the north-west of Bhotan, where he performed certain medical cures on the people.

We now come to less favourable dealings with the country. The Duars had not yet been incorporated with Bengal, but belonged to the Ahom princes. With a view to stopping the raids of the Bhotanese, the proposal was made to hand these low lands at the foot of the Himalayas over to Bhotan itself. The Indian Government sanctioned this course about the year 1830; but, as soon as the Bhotanese had been constituted masters of the territory, they carried the normal system of their land into the Duars, and thus violence and rapine increased there tenfold. In order, therefore, to repair the mischief we had done to the inoffensive inhabitants in giving them over to such rulers, a Captain Boileau Pemberton was despatched on a mission into Bhotan, to effect, if feasible, the transfer of the lowlands to British charge. During 1837-38 Captain Pemberton travelled over a great part of the country, visiting Panakha, Tongsa, Lingtsi Jong, and other towns, the head-quarters of various petty chieftains, for the purpose of carrying through the negotiations. Although accompanied by an escort, the envoy was treated with the utmost insolence, short of personal violence. Eventually nothing satisfactory came of the mission, the only tangible result of it being a fine collection of plants and seeds amassed by Dr. Griffith, of the Seebpore Botanical Gardens, who had accompanied Pemberton as naturalist and who wrote a meagre narrative of the expedition. Later, however—in 1842—the Indian Government insisted on receiving the Duars from Bhotan, at the same time guaranteeing a yearly payment, as compensation, on condition of all the old raids ceasing.

This promise of compensation was, nevertheless, the ruin of the whole transaction. The Bhotanese regarded the payments as an evident confession of weakness and pusillanimity on our part. The raidings were renewed, and even increased in violence. A Warren Hastings, with firm-held reins and poised whip, was, however, no longer the ruling spirit of our policy. Gentleness and concession then, as now, were always tentatively put forward first. For twenty-two years the system of mild remonstrance continued. At length it was found that something more active was required; yet it only took the form of another mission into the land, a method of treatment which those murderous mountaineers neither understood nor cared for.

At any rate, in 1864, the Hon'ble Ashley Eden was sent as envoy to Bhotan, to arrange all differences and come to peaceful terms. His progress to Panakha, in the centre of the mountains, was marked by ridicule and insult at every stage.



Arrived at this place, where the Chieftains were assembled to treat with him, his want of "appearance," it is said, as well as of firmness, led to all manner of insolence from these ecclesiastical banditti. One of them, for instance, took a large piece of wet barley-meal out of his tea cup, and, with a roar of laughter, rubbed the paste all about Mr. Eden's face. He then pulled his hair, slapped him on the back, and indulged in several disagreeable practical jokes. At length a treaty with the Bhotan Government, containing terms most humiliating to the British authorities, was signed by Mr. Eden at Panakha, that gentleman endorsing on each copy, however, that he had signed it "under compulsion." On the return of the mission, therefore, nothing was left to our Government but to repudiate the convention and at once take active steps to punish the insults heaped on Mr. Eden, which, truth to tell, he had, in part, brought upon himself.

The result was the Bhotan campaign of 1864-65, the details of which are too lengthy to recapitulate, and are, indeed, fresh in the memories of some who took part in it and who are even still on active service in India. Notwithstanding one or two unfortunate incidents, such as the repulse of our troops by the Bhotanese at both Diwangiri and Bala, and the captured guns which the "Tongsu Penlow" refused to restore, the end, as a matter of course, was victory to the British arms. The war, however, lasted nearly two years and cost an immense sum of money. Strange it seems that, in the present day, such comparatively small affairs as the Bhotan war and the current Frontier expeditions in the North-West should be always so long-protracted and prove so disastrous, both financially and in loss of officers and men; while, on the other hand, in Hastings' day, a Captain Jones, with his handful of sepoy, could make short and cheap work of a similar expedition!

As to the end accomplished by this expensive business, many persons characterised the peace-terms concluded as damaging to our prestige, and Lord Lawrence was naturally blamed; but solid advantages really ensued. A large tract, adjoining the eastern side of Darjeeling, was taken from Bhotan and turned into a Sub-division under direct British rule. This comprised a stretch of country 850 square miles in area, lying between the rivers Teesta and Jaldháka, known now as Dalingkot and including the well-known modern station of Kalimpong.\* Then, the Duars districts were put on a new footing for protection from further molestation, and a force of

---

\* It is sometimes stated, as for instance in Sir R. Temple's *Life of Lord Lawrence*—that, after the war, Bhotan ceded the Duars to us. This is an error. The Duars was already under British rule; the tract ceded to us was the large district of Dalingkot, north-west of the Duars proper.

Bengal Infantry was stationed at Buxa, where is situated the main passage into Bhotanese territory. Moreover, the old bribe-like payments were now commuted into an annual subsidy of £5,000, to be paid direct to the Ruler of the State to enable him to control his subjects. Perhaps, the most conclusive evidence of the sufficiency of these terms may be found in the present flourishing condition of the Duars, with their magnificent reaches of tea-gardens, and in the almost English appearance of the villages and homesteads which now dot the beautiful valleys of Dalingkot. Where once hamlets were periodically burnt to the ground and women and children carried off into slavery, there now dwell a peaceful and prosperous populace. There the Forest officer and the Scottish missionary are both at work; and, as a result, not a few Christian churches and schools may be seen nestling amidst picturesque woodlands.

But in the ganglion of darkling mountain ranges to the east and north, which rise one behind the other in ascending tiers, until in the far-distance the furthest range, loaded with perpetual snows, pierces with whitened cones the very heavens,—there, indeed, do the strange and turbulent people of Bhotan still hold as their own an immense and by-no-means unproductive territory.

To throw some light on these regions, of which so little is known to the general public, and from which at present we are all shut out, is the main purpose of the following pages. For, indeed, Bhotan is a unique part of the world in several of its aspects. It is remarkable not only for the extraordinary physical features it presents, but also for the curious people that inhabit the country, and the almost unparalleled system of government to which they are subjected.

Our sources of information are scantier than one might be inclined to believe. The earlier travellers mentioned above have left few notes concerning this portion of their Himalayan journeys. Moreover, when one turns to the Reports of the two political expeditions of the present century, the writers are found to record little that can be made use of from the ethnological and geographical standpoints. Fortunately, in addition to their narratives, much information has accumulated in recent years from quite another source. We refer to the secret journeys undertaken by the native agents of the Survey of India. Hill-men, specially trained, have been despatched, under various disguises, into the mountains of Bhotan, just as similar emissaries have been sent into Tibet. It is from the diaries and route surveys of these indefatigable explorers—the records of R. N., P. A., M. H., and others, who, from motives of caution, are known only by their initials—, that a considerable portion



of the facts which we have been at pains to sift and assort, have been derived.

The country known to us as Bhotan comprises the huge block of the Indian Himalayas bounding that portion of Bengal which lies due north of Calcutta and of its adjacent districts to the East. It is, as we say, huge ; for it occupies the whole of the Himalaya mountains lying betwixt the meridians of longitude  $88^{\circ} 52'$  E. and longitude  $92^{\circ}$  E., with the exception, on the westernmost side, of a piece where the Chhumbi valley protrudes southwards down from Tibet. Reckoning by map measurements only, the country is 185 miles from west to east and has an average breadth of 81 miles from north to south, and thus we get for general size an area of some 14,900 square miles. But, of course, the actual surface area is much greater, Bhotan being among the most crumpled of territories ; and, if the deep valleys and steep mountain slopes were pulled out flat, we should find a superficies of, perhaps, over 20,000 square miles. Chhumbi and Sikkim bound this realm on the west ; Assam and the curious little State known as the Tawang Raj limit its extension to the east ; while the northern boundary is, naturally, Tibet, the frontier line there keeping mainly along the 28th parallel of latitude.

#### MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS.

Although with really much surface fitted for, and devoted to, pasture and cultivation, Bhotan is substantially all mountain. The vertebral column, or main range, of the system of this part of the Himalayas is that which here forms the Tibetan frontier line. Along this column rise the stupendous snow-capped peaks which may be seen sometimes, from points of vantage, even far away in the Indian plains—Hooker saw two or three of the Bhotan peaks while standing on a spot 210 miles distant from them. Radiating from the frontier range, mostly in a south-eastern direction, are many offshoots, decreasing in altitude as they make to the south, each of which gives forth numerous branching spurs, running both to the east and to the west. These south-east trending offshoots, with their army of protruding spurs, which themselves send out lesser spurs, make up the mountain-system of Bhotan.

But, as we have said, we must journey up to the great line dividing this country from Tibet to find the giant summits of the land. A singularly unbroken wall of mountains is this great frontier line ; and, contrary to what characterises most other parts of the main range of the Himalayas, it is pierced only in one place, to admit the passage of a south-flowing river. Accordingly, with this single exception—that of

the Tibetan Lhobrag, which eventually becomes the Manas—the frontier-range is both the source and the main watershed of all the rivers of Bhotan.

However, let us approach the giants of the northern wall and see what they are. First, at the westernmost end—in fact at the very north-west corner—, we have the wondrous towering mass, the loftiest dome of which, ever robed in folds of snow, is the famous Chomolhari—"The Lady Goddess Mountain—," 24,100 feet in height. What a mystic summit this has always been—its apex visible even from a ridge not six miles from Darjeeling, yet somehow constantly puzzling our Indian surveyors, so that its exact situation is to this day only approximately determined. Although thought to be an isolated peak, Chomolhari herself does not really stand in solitary grandeur. She is closely attended by about nineteen other, smaller, peaks, each sufficiently lofty to be hooded with cowls of perpetual snow. The lady goddess whom the mother mountain is accounted to represent, is the mighty Buddhist deity, Dolma; whilst the nineteen minor summits, shaped like unto herself, are held to be the branch emanations of the goddess, which are everywhere worshipped in Sikkim and Bhotan under the designation of the Dolma *kyilkor*. There is said to be a shrine at the foot of each peak, dedicated to the respective emanation of the goddess personated overhead; and the whole series of mountains are sacrificed to on certain days, as visible incarnations of Dolma and her retinue.

Passing now along this great northern frontier range much further eastwards, we shall at length reach another immense matrix of ice-crowned giants, situated in latitude  $28^{\circ} 6' 30''$  N., longitude  $90^{\circ} 33'$  E.; but, as the assembled summits cover considerable ground *en masse*, this estimate of position must be taken as that only of the centre of the group. These peaks are styled by both Bhotanis and Tibetans as KU-LHA GANGRI and his KOR, or circle of attendants. KU-LHA GANGRI is the principal summit, 24,740 feet in altitude, situated slightly to the west of the others, and is accredited to represent Kuvera, the king of the Tibetan *Nöjin*, or mountain demons. Another, a round-topped peak, is denominated KU LHACHAM, the wife of KU-LHA, and runs up to 24,485 feet. Due north of the main summit rises MUG-DZIN, "the holder of the mist," 22,300 feet; while further N. E. stands Chenraszigs Ri—quite in Tibet, but belonging to the group—over 24,000 feet in height above sea-level. Others of this assemblage of monsters are named Lonchhen Gar, Chhakna Dorje, and Namgyal, all approximately over 21,600 feet in altitude.

Continuing to the E., there is still another frontier group belonging to Bhutan, the twin Dozam peaks in longitude  $91^{\circ}$



30' E., 20,980 feet and 20,570 feet respectively. The two native explorers, U. G. and R. N., who are the only agents of the Survey office that have succeeded in penetrating these remote regions—both describe the country just north of the twin peaks as an aggregation of towering cliffs and profound gorges, of a character uncommon even in Tibet. There are no slopes to the mountain summits; the sides being composed of processions of rocky steeples, shattered into gigantic splinters, standing apart from one another and each one rising up from depths horrible to gaze into. Wherever there is a sloping channel above the rifted rocks and sheer precipices, there one is sure to behold an enormous protruding glacier. Nevertheless, amid these desolate, ice-bound regions some of the largest and most notable Buddhist monasteries of the district have been erected, the principal being the Panpa-chhakdor and the Kharchhu Gompa. At the latter place, U. G. alleges, are preserved great bronze bas-reliefs, brought to the monastery in mediæval times from the famous temple at Bodh Gya in India. To Kharchhu come pilgrims from Bhutan, to carry back with them bottles of sacred red-coloured water (probably ferruginous), which percolates, in a mysterious manner, into a cavern, and is averred to be the urine of Padma Sambhawa, the founder of much of the Tantrik ritual in use in Bhotan.

We must now leave the Northern range, the passes over which shall be enumerated when we come to consider the commercial relations existing between Tibetans and Bhotanis. Of the subordinate ranges, ramifying southwards throughout the length and breadth of the country, little that is distinctive can be specified. Given off at a great height from the bounding line of the snowy peaks, they do not so rapidly descend in altitude, as they approach the plains, as do the corresponding ranges in Sikkim. Indeed, within 25 miles or so of the British frontier peaks occur on these subsidiary spurs measuring from 15,000 to 18,200 feet in height; and in Bhotan this means a cap of perpetual snow. The valleys between the ranges are not so elevated and shallow as the northernmost valleys of Sikkim. They are, on the contrary, cut very deep, even close up to Tibetan territory; but, though so deep, they are not gorge-like, but thrown widely open. Pine trees and rhododendron of every variety clothe the valley sides up to 10,000 feet; and in the bed of every great valley is seen a well-supplied river, hurrying southwards. Fine pasture grounds, tenanted by herds of thousands of tame yak, cows, and sheep, occur up to 13,000 feet, especially in the Punt'ang and Tur Chhu valleys, in East Bhotan. So far as our information goes, monster moraines, shattered rocks, snow-fields and glaciers are generally less observable than in

North Sikkim. On the whole, there is less of ice-bound desolation in the northern regions than might be imagined so close up to the great snows which separate this realm from the elevated and wind-swept valleys of Tibet.

The principal rivers are those which eventually coalesce to form the Manas of the Indian plains. Of these the main branch is that which, as the Lhobrag Chhu, enters Bhotan from Tibet through the only gap in the frontier range. The Lhobrag itself is made up, in Tibet, of three independent streams of great size, which unite their waters only a few miles north of the Bhotan boundary line. After confluence, these waters tear their way at a steep gradient through the frontier mountains, forming a violent and particularly tortuous river, which, the explorer alleges, is crossed by no fewer than thirty bridges within its first 40 miles within Bhotan territory. The exact point of entrance of the Lhobrag Chhu from Tibet should be set down. Duly corrected, it is in latitude  $28^{\circ}3' N.$ , longitude  $91^{\circ}3' E.$  After it has received the Kumang Chhu from the East and the Bigyá Chhu and Ungcha Chhu from the West, its name seems to be changed to Kuru Tsangpo. Its gradient becomes very steep, and there is a continuous succession of cascades. In latitude  $27^{\circ}15' N.$  it has positively descended to 2,000 feet altitude, when it receives an accession of volume from the Shong-nga Chhu. Here is an important bridge, with a guard. Lower down comes in the great Dangma Chhu, with branches draining the whole of the Tawang Raj; whilst, a few miles before reaching the Indian plains, the whole drainage of Central Bhotan is emptied into this river, by conjunction with the combined Punt'ang Chhu and Mati Chhu, the latter bringing down all the waters of the Tongsa province, including those from the great glacial valleys on the *western* flanks of Kulhagangri. Thus the Manas River, which flows forth into Bengal at Nyis Bagh Duar, really answers for the drainage of fully one half of Bhotan, besides that of Tawang and of extensive tracts in Tibet.

Of the other rivers appearing on the Indian plains from the mountains of Bhotan, we have, in the extreme west, the Jaldháka, known in the land of its birth as the Di Chhu; the Amo Chhu, draining the Chhumbi valley and the flanks of Chomolhari, which enters Bengal as the Torsa; the Wong Chhu, tapping all the valleys of the Thingbu province, which shows itself below as the Raidak River of Kuch Behar; the P'o-mo Chhu, draining the extreme north of Bhotan in the Panákha province and arriving on the plains as the Gadadhar River; together with two or three other minor affluents.

All these rivers have an extraordinary number of feeding



streams in their course through Bhotan, each of such stream issuing from one of the incredibly numerous by-valleys lying between the minor spurs of the subordinate mountain ranges. Thus, although it is such a maze of interlocking mountain lines, so well-watered is the whole country that, but for the chronic internal dissensions of the people, Bhotan might be one of the most productive, as it certainly is one of the most fertile, of Indian States. The contrast between the arid slopes of the great hills of the Simla districts and the rugged-sided, but well-timbered and luxuriantly-verdant, valleys of Bhotan shows the striking differences of physical feature to be found in the Himalayas. In the one, water is to be seen only far down in the rocky depths, at the very roots of each mountain ; in the other the life-giving thing is not merely to be seen, but the music of its falling runlets, streams, and rivers is to be heard everywhere, an incessant echo in the ears, however far up you may have ascended the gloriously-wooded heights.

#### FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The Government to which this country has been long subject, is a curiosity. It is a strange hybrid, unparalleled elsewhere, although in some sort approaching the system in vogue in Tibet. It is partly an ecclesiastical monarchy, partly oligarchical, partly under a dual sovereignty, partly controlled by feudal barons of the mediæval British type.

In theory, we believe, the chief spiritual personage in the realm is King of Bhotan ; though, as we shall see, he has no real authority, and the reins of his government are guided by a temporal sovereign, who, however, depends for obedience to his administration solely on the good-will of, and amount of support accorded him by, a powerful oligarchy of petty chieftains, who enjoy more or less of independence in their respective principalities.

This chief spiritual personage is known to us outsiders by his old "Company" title (derived from Nepalese sources) of the Dharma Rajah. In Bhotan itself, nevertheless, this name seems to be practically unknown. There his nominal subjects style him the DRUK GYE-PO, and sometimes Chhoi-kyi Gyé-po, the former title signifying literally the "Thunder King" and really meaning that he is king of the Drukpa, or "Thunderer," sect of Buddhists. His motto, engraved in the centre of his official seal, is *Bdag Druk Yin*, "I am the Thunder."

In accordance with the beliefs prevailing in Northern Buddhism, the spiritual king of Bhotan is supposed to be the current Incarnation of a real character who was illustrious in the past history of the country. As a matter of fact, all the Dharma Rajahs, or Druk Gyé-po, during the last 200 years, have

been the successive incarnations, or appearances in the flesh, of a certain defunct hero named Shabdung Ngag-wang Namgyal. Truly, moreover, this man deserved to be thus perpetuated. He was not born until he had been forty years in his mother's womb; and when she, at length, brought him forth, he was grey-bearded, though his skin bloomed like the rose, and there exhaled from him, as it were, the scent of a lotos. His first actions were to apologise to his mother for the inconvenience his protracted delay in birth had caused her, and then to preach a Sanskrit sermon. Apart, however, from the legends connected with his nativity, the real Shabdung Namgyal was a remarkable individual. He proved himself to be talented as a religious reformer, a learned author, and a skilful mechanical engineer—qualities not often found in combination. A number of large bridges, some of iron chain construction and some of stone, several being of great length, are said still to survive in the country, as well as in Tibetan territory just over the border, all of which were designed by the saint and executed under his personal supervision. He also erected the great fortress at Táshichhoidzong. His religious reforms placed the Buddhism of Bhotan, which was of a puerile character, on a philosophic basis; abolishing several practices inconsistent with the very essence of the faith, such as animal sacrifices and marriage of lamas. As to his literary works, they comprise as many as twenty-two volumes.

Each *Druk Gye-po* is, when he comes to the throne, a mere infant; because, on the death of his predecessor, his spirit, or *las* (as it is termed), is supposed to pass into a child as yet unborn. The child thenceforward becomes a *Trulku*, or Incarnation; but his whereabouts and identity are unknown, until, by an elaborate process of divination, the individual infant is "discovered," and by various tokens of precocity indicates that he is the new earthly being in whom Shabdung Namgyal has taken refuge. He can thus be trained from childhood into the orthodox ruler, with the semblance, but no reality, of political power. He usually resides in the Namgyal monastery at Táshichhoidzong, the capital; but goes on a round of visits to two or three other establishments in different provinces of Bhotan, according to the season. When seen, the Dharma Rajah is invariably seated on a sort of altar with carved lion supports, and receives from all the homage due to a divinity.

The acting sovereign of Bhotan—co-ordinate in power, though not in rank, with the Dharma Rajah—is another personage, who is designated the *Deb Gye-po*, or Deb Rajah, *i.e.*, "Ruler of the Records." He is a layman and always a man in years and experience. He dwells in the Deb-khang palace at Táshichhoidzong, and, if he happens to be an individual of enterprise and determination, can exercise considerable autho-



rity throughout the country. To him are paid all the fiscal dues levied in each province ; and out of these he assigns a stipend to maintain the ecclesiastical pontiff, and apportions shares of varying amounts to each of the regular monasteries all over the kingdom. As a rule, however, the Deb Gyé-po governs in fear and trembling. He is not, be it remembered, an hereditary sovereign, but owes his elevation to the craft and military prowess of, perhaps, two or three of the petty chieftains, or barons, in the provinces. It is, therefore, his policy to allow his supporters considerable voice in the management of affairs and to lose few opportunities of oppressing those provinces whose chieftains were unfavourable to his promotion.

And this reference introduces us to the real state of politics in the country. Bhotan is divided into nine provinces, each one of which is subject, in nearly all practical matters, to the personal interests and will of a wild, war-loving chieftain. Moreover, much of the spirit of the old Highland clans of Scotland is observable in these separate interests and governments. Each chieftain has about him a large official staff and followers without whose support he would be helpless. This partisanship is partly maintained by fostering a spirit of rivalry with the other provinces in the kingdom ; and the further incentive of booty to be gained combines with emulative envy to bring about raids and reprisals between different provinces. In this way the people are ever ready for broils ; causes and grievances are quickly embraced, and, although alliances with neighbouring districts may, through policy, be kept up for a time, each province is substantially ever on the watch for its own aggrandisement.

There are, as we have intimated, nine provinces in Bhotan, each of which is practically independent of the other ; and their autonomy is, to a certain extent, indicated by the fact that traders and travellers from one province have to obtain a permit from the ruler if they desire to pass through another province. Furthermore, any baggage or merchandise carried is subjected to heavy exactions on entering the new jurisdiction. These payments are made at the great stone bridges which span, at several points, the boundary river, or rivers, of each district. Every province forms the barony of a petty chieftain, who resides at the principal town and who bears the curious designation of PÖNLOB (the "Penlow" of the newspapers when the Bhotan war was in progress), meaning "Teacher and Pupil," and implying that he is master of his own province, though subordinate to, or "pupil" of, the Dharma and Deb Rajahs. To the Pönlob accrue all the tolls on merchandise, a proportion of which he is supposed to render up to the central Government. The nine provinces of Bhotan may be

arranged as follows, in their order from West to East :—

PARU ; THINGBU ; PANAKHA and TAKHA ; ANGDU-P'ODANG ;  
TONGSA ; PUM-T'ANG ; KURU-TOD ; and KURU-MAD.

The last two, though separate provinces, are supposed to form only one barony, or principality. They are styled colloquially *Kurtö* and *Kurmé*. Thus there are only eight Pönlob.

There is a further division of these provinces into Jongs, or districts, each under a Jongpön, or fort-master, who, in some cases, seems to have shaken off the legitimate authority of the Pönlob and to have become independent of his jurisdiction. This official has his seat at a large fortified town, collects revenue, and generally owns a good number of slaves, who are mostly refugees from provinces, or districts, with which he is at variance. According to the report made by the native explorer R. N., the various De, or districts, into which each province is sub-divided may be thus grouped ; the head-quarters being situated at a town, the name of which may, for convenience sake, be applied to the district governed therefrom :—

PARU.	{ Sang-pe Jong* Tump'yong Jong. Báte Jong. Dugya Jong. Chamurtse Jong.	ANGDU- P'ODANG.	{ Tiglá-gang Jong. Ula Jong. Tsangchhukha Jong. Angdu-p'odang Jong.
THINGBU.	{ Chhukha Jong. Kabcha Jong. Darber Jong. Lingshi Jong. Tsimo Jong. Bala Jong.	TONGSA.	{ Shabgong Jong. Tongsa Jong.
PANAKHA.	{ Gyaty'a Jong. Nubgang Jong. Panákha Jong.	PUM-T'ANG.	{ Ora Jong. Byákha Jong. Pum-t'ang Jong.
TAKHA.	{ Tákha Jong. Chirang Jong.	KURME.	{ Shong-nga Jong. Táshigang Jong. Ke-nga Jong.
		KURTÖ.	{ Lingtse Jong. Táshi-yangtse Jong.

The chief town, or capital, of Bhotan is situated in the north of the province of Thingbu. In our maps its name is usually spelled Tassishudong ; but the orthography ought to be Táshichhoidzong, as that is the correct pronunciation of the Bhotani spelling of the word, which is *Bhrashis-chhos-rdzong* "the fortress of auspicious doctrine." The place is 8,160 feet above sea-level, and the observed position seems to be lat. 27° 25' N., long. 89° 39' 10" E. It is a strongly-fortified place, approached from the west by a long stone bridge, on many piers, across the Wong Chhu. The Deb Rajah lodges in the *dzong*, or citadel, and the Dharma Rajah in the Táshichhoi Ling, or abbey. The town is too cold for winter residence ;

\* Colonel Thuillier, who edited R. N.'s report, applies the word "Jong" as if it signified "district ;" but *De* is the proper word to employ, *Jong* (really *Dzong*) meaning the fortress at head-quarters. In our list, we have re-arranged R. N.'s list and corrected the spelling.



and the whole court retreats to lower latitudes at that season. Of the other towns, Páru and Tongsa Jong are the largest in the country, Panákha coming next. In these places the fortress is not always within the circuit of houses, but stands, perhaps, half a mile apart, perched on the top of some precipice. A great feature of many of these large villages, or towns, is the bridge, often a suspension one, across the adjacent river, by which alone it can be entered and at which a guard is posted for fiscal and defensive purposes.

#### TRADE AND THE PASSES.

Connected with the situation of the towns is the subject of commercial relations with exterior nations. Bhotan carries on a continuous traffic with Tibet, except at times when hostilities are on foot—a not infrequent position. Trade to the North, and *vice versa*, proceeds by way of the great passes (*lá*) across the barrier-range of the Himalayas; and each important town appears to have its own route and its own pass over the frontier. The frequent enmity and constant rivalry between the different provinces render this arrangement almost essential. Thus we find that the trade of Páru with Tibet proceeds altogether by way of a low pass, the Pempa La, which allows easy transit to the Tibetan town of Phari Jong. The merchants of Panákha, in their journeys to Gyangtse and Shigatse, far within Tibet, travel up the valley of the Mo Chhu to their own private pass, the Urgyen La. Angdup'odang makes use of the Namtse La, over which Panákha traders have a joint right of way. But the most famous pass of all is that controlled by the men of Pumt'ang, the lofty Monla-khachhung, situated at the eastern base of the Kulha-gangri peaks. It offers the shortest route between Bhotan and Lhasa; and although 17,400 feet high and bordered on both the Tibetan and southern sides by mighty glaciers, is yet considered an accessible pass, and is much used. Caverns on either side are conveniently situated and provided with fuel; and within their spacious depths refuge may be taken from the overwhelming snow-storms which often detain travellers two or three weeks in durance. The easternmost provinces of Kurtö and Kurme are well-provided with trading-routes into Tibet, one leading, *viâ* the valley of the Manas, to Lhakhang Jong, the chief traffic mart in the Lhobrag province of Tibet, and the others making exit from Bhotan over the Eastern Frontier into the State of Tawang. A great drawback to commercial enterprise in this quarter is the insatiable rapacity of the Tibetan officials, especially of those stationed at Lhakhang Jong. Their proceedings give rise to constant broils between the two countries; and the blackmail demanded has exercised a paralysing influence

over trade. The Tawang men, however, enjoy special concessions from both countries, and much of the traffic has fallen into their hands. A certain amount of traffic has always passed between Bhotan and India by way of Diwangiri, Buxa, and one or two other of the Duars, or *ghats*. But since the opening of the trading post of Yatong, in Chhumbi, under the British treaty with Tibet, that place has become the chief market of exchanges with India.

As exports, Bhotan offers tobacco, generally largely adulterated with various other leaves, but very popular in Tibet; silk fabrics of good make, chiefly red in colour; *yultha*, a cotton cloth; rice, sent up to Lhása and Shigatse for the consumption of the Chinese soldiers quartered in Tibet; dyes of two kinds, one derived from the dried bark of a creeper named *chud*, producing a brilliant deep red, another a yellow dye, yielded by *Symplocos racemosa*; brass utensils in large variety; and Indian silver ornaments. In exchange, the chief imports from Tibet are salt and wool; but tea-bricks, musk-pods, blankets (from Gyantse), and earthenware goods are much in demand. From India are bought broadcloth, silks, haberdashery, trinkets, &c., but little if any tea.

#### THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND.

The natives of Bhotan (who are known in Tibet under the general designation of *Lhopa*) divide themselves into three races, namely, *Drukmi*, or genuine Bhotanese, occupying the western and central districts; *Chingmi*, the inhabitants of the country east of the main branch of the Manas River, and *Lebo*, immigrant settlers from Tibet, chiefly found in the North-East. All the people seem to be a singularly stalwart and powerfully-built set. The men have huge limbs and are often very tall; being much larger physically than Tibetans or the Bhutia denizens of Sikkim. They are, moreover, a very swarthy race and in colour considerably darker than the natives of Tibet. Quarrelsome to a degree and of untamed and independent disposition, they are by no means easy to manage when taken into employment. Many who from various causes have had to flee from their own land, and who have settled in Sikkim or the Duars, are from time to time offered work in tea-gardens, or as load-carriers in Darjeeling; but they generally prove intractable and disaffected and soon throw up any engagement. Notwithstanding their enormous physical strength, they do not appear to relish ordinary coolie labour. Nevertheless, in their own country, they are not at all a lazy people. Indeed, as cultivators, they are industrious and painstaking; raising, on the numerous plateaux and alluvial flats adjacent to rivers, large crops of cotton, hemp and flax, in



addition to ordinary cereal products. Such crops require much patience and manual exertion, but in these cases the cultivators are working directly for themselves.

As to the women, they are physically often as strong as the strongest men and labour equally with them in the fields. They seem to be in no way the down-trodden sex, and, unlike their Indian sisters, often take the lead and even thrash their husbands. We say "husbands" advisedly, because here, as in other Tibetan-peopled lands, polyandry is a prevailing custom, a woman frequently marrying two or three brothers, living as wife with all three, and keeping house for them conjointly. However, it is the eldest brother who chooses the bride, pays her price to her mother, and goes through the marriage ceremony with her. But, on the completion of their brother's nuptials, the two next brothers to him *ipso facto* become her husbands also and are entitled to live in the home, with equal rights of cohabitation. Should there be a fourth son in the family, he is not, in Bhotan, admitted into the marriage circle, but must either procure some wife for himself, or, which is the usual custom, enter a lamasery, whereby celibacy is nominally enforced upon him.

Should the eldest brother die, the woman is bound to continue spouse to the surviving members of the marriage circle, unless she performs a divorce ceremonial before the burning or burial of the corpse. In this case she must, in the presence of the other brothers, their maternal uncle (called *ashang*), and her maternal uncle, lift up the hand of the dead man, and, with a piece of spinning cotton (*rekü*), bind her forefinger to his. She then withdraws her hand sharply, snapping the thread in twain, and thereby dissolves her tie to both the dead man and his brothers, who are now at liberty to seek a fresh wife elsewhere. But, as will be seen, this freedom all depends, not upon the men themselves, but upon the wishes of the woman. Such a ceremony is denominated *kü-pa chö-khen*, "breaking the knot."

In Bhotan, before a girl may be married, a certain payment must be made to her mother, varying in value from 200 to 900 rupees, according to the rank of the bride's parents. This is termed the mother's *nu-rin*, or "suckling charge." Betrothal of from one to three years' duration usually precedes actual marriage; and for this space the man is considered more or less in servitude to the girl's parents.

An orphan boy of property is always married, as a child, to some grown-up woman, who takes charge of him, first as nurse and subsequently as wife. She thus, naturally, acquires the direction of all his affairs and generally complete mastery of his personality. However, in Bhotan there is this peculiarity,

that both polyandry and polygamy exist side by side. Thus, unlike the usage north of the Himalayas, where only a series of actual brothers share the one wife, here it is allowable for any one of the brothers to have another wife in another household and a third even in a third household. This system brings about a gross state of immorality unknown in Ladak, Sikkim, or Lahul.

Where a woman is an only child of her parents, and inherits, or will inherit, any small holding sufficient to support herself, she is accorded special dignity, and may choose a husband for herself. This man may not bring his brothers to share the domestic hearth, neither does he take the bride to his own home. In a sense, he is considered her property and must come and take up his abode in her house, performing personally, if necessary, the manual duties of the small estate. Such a husband is designated a *makpa*, or "moth." He may be discarded by the wife, if she takes a fancy to a new bridegroom, the first man having to turn out to make room for his successor. Frequently parents with an only daughter cause her to select a *makpa* husband at a very youthful age, when she is about fourteen years old, and he comes into the home and labours for his father-in-law.

Most houses in Bhotan are substantial structures built of blocks of granite and limestone which are well-cut into massive oblong pieces. As timber is plentiful, two or three of the side-walls, especially in the upper storeys, are commonly composed of wooden planks. Many houses, however, are of stone throughout, and are as solid-looking as some old Norman keep in England. The family live upstairs, to which a rough ladder gives access; the ground-rooms being used as stables for cattle and store-places for wood and grain. This land being a country of sudden forays from people of neighbouring districts, all dwellings are, in a measure, provided with certain defensive outworks—generally a stout lime stone wall is seen engirdling some tall house very tightly, imparting to it somehow the curious aspect of a monster cup in too small a saucer.

A little more must be said concerning the occupations of the inhabitants, to which some allusion has already been made.

Meteorological action in past ages has formed, upon and in the sides of the subordinate ranges and spurs which throng the whole region, an incredible number of small plateaus and denuded flats. These have become generally crowded with pine, oak, and rhododendron; but, when diligently cleared of such arboreal over-growth, the level or sloping grounds thus laid open make most excellent fields for agricultural purposes. Again, the valley floors on either side the inevitable rivers, with their tracts of alluvial soil, afford still more product-



ive space for husbandry. Accordingly, the main support of the Bhotani, when he is not engaged in internecine warfare, is derived from cultivation of the land. Unfortunately for him, the produce of his labour, which in this fertile and moist country is abundant, is subjected to heavy black-mail. Although a large body of agriculturalists have holdings of their own, inherited from father to son, both the neighbouring monastery and the Jongpön of the district have large claims upon the yield of the soil. Tribute to the one and taxes to the other have to be paid in kind, in the shape of grain or butter ; and it is asserted that one-half may be reckoned as the usual outgoing in this direction. Moreover, personal labour, or its equivalent, has to be rendered to effect the transport of all travelling officials through the district ; while food also has to be supplied to such personages and their followers.

Amongst the crops cultivated should be mentioned wheat, rice, barley, buckwheat, and *pharpar*. A very coarse kind of barley, which requires only 60 days to come to maturity from the date of sowing, is grown in the higher valleys. The plan in the case of all cereals is to scatter the seed on the hard surface of the ground and then plough it in. In the lower valleys flax and hemp are largely cultivated. The great stand-by with the people appears, however, to be their vegetable crops, the favourites being radishes of two or three kinds and turnips. Radishes are seen in every nook and corner, and are eaten cooked as well as raw. Carrots and potatoes are also much planted now ; whilst every cottager indulges in a fine variety of pot-herbs. In certain of the broader valleys the breeding and pasturing of cattle are the staple employment of the people. This pursuit is especially followed in the valleys of the Amo Chhu and Wong Chhu in West Bhutan and, again, in that of the Shongnga Chhu in the far East. Immense herds of Indian cows and half breed yaks are reared, and the animals themselves are of large size, yielding much milk. The main purpose in view is the production of butter, so lavishly consumed in the country both as food and for use in the temples. Huge supplies from the herds in the Jaldháka, Amo, and Wong pastures find their way up to the great towns in the North, such as Páro, Tashichhoidzong, and Panakha.

In other districts, Punt'ang for instance, the manufacture of cloth and of blankets occupies large numbers, chiefly of the women. The wool for this purpose is mainly brought from Tibet. Again, a considerable portion of the inhabitants in all parts of the country resort to trading operations, and an active interchange of commodities is carried on over the northern passes with Tibet, and, *via* Diwangiri, with Assam and Dacca.

There is, however, one calling which has yet to be mentioned

and that one by no means the least popular. We refer to the religious profession. Buddhism of the unreformed Tibetan cult is, as we have seen, a great power in the land. The large number of *gelong*, or monks, of that faith are mainly recruited from the lowest orders of society. As celibacy is the nominal rule among ecclesiastics, and as only three brothers may marry one wife, where there are four or more sons the others enter the monastic life. All illegitimate children of monks become monks or nuns. A proportion of other youths of their own inclination take the vows. The majority enter this calling as boys, each being attached at first as pupil, or rather servant, to some elder monk. Many, in their subsequent career, are occupied in agricultural work connected with the monastery, varied by long periods of idleness and vagabondage. Only a few devote themselves to study and the practice of mystic rites; and these often amass fortunes by the pursuit of their profession as Tantrik lamas.

#### FIGHTING CAPABILITIES.

Probably the continuous tumults prevailing in their country have hardened the people of Bhutan to military warfare. At any rate, it is a fact that the Bhotanese exceed infinitely in reckless courage all their racial brethren save the Khampa tribes of Eastern Tibet. An ordinary Tibetan, no less than a Ladaki, is a despicable coward beside a native of Bhutan. In the campaign of 1865, our own officers had considerable experience of both the bravery and military ability of these turbulent mountaineers. They gained several noteworthy successes against the British forces; and, as their weapons and defences are of the most primitive nature, these reverses to our arms, as well as the extent to which they managed to prolong the contest, are all the more creditable to their pluck and indomitable spirit of resistance. Sir Charles Macgregor, in describing the capture of the fort at Dalingkot, which, with only 60 Bhutanese within it, was held with much tenacity against our attack, accords them this tribute:—

“We have been accustomed to regard these Bhutias as a despicable, pusillanimous race, and yet we see them with stones and arrows offering no contemptible defence to some 500 or 600 men with Armstrong guns and inflicting on them a loss of 58 killed and wounded. It has been also the fashion to laugh at such arms as arrows and stones; and yet I doubt, and the statistics of action in general will bear me out, if we would have lost many more men if the enemy had been armed with muskets. The arrows are all sharp-pointed and fly with great precision, having penetration enough to go through a man's body; while on this occasion one man was killed and several received very nasty gashes from stones.”



In the feuds between the different provinces the natives still hold to their primitive weapons of warfare ; and although many matchlocks and English guns of obsolete pattern are now in their possession, and they manufacture their own gunpowder, the bow remains the favourite instrument of combat. When discussing its advantages, the silence of its action is the point they chiefly commend. Nevertheless, in fighting, silence is by no means a Bhotanese virtue ; for their manner is to charge forward to the attack uttering in chorus unearthly howls like a troop of jackals. For defensive works every town and every point of vantage in Bhotan has its stone-built fort, generally erected on some commanding crag above a stream or river. The water difficulty, in case of siege, is, in several instances, overcome by means of covered flights of steps down to the river. Thus, the large village of Angdu Chhoiling is protected by the great fort of Byàko Jong (altitude 9,300 feet), built on an eminence overhanging the Punt'ang river. This fort is one of the largest in the country, having a wall of solid stone about a mile in circumference ; whilst the erections within the circuit of the wall are stated to rise to a height of 150 feet and are occupied by the Jongpön and his retainers. There is no water in the fort ; but a well-built covered way has been constructed leading to a spring near the river bank from which the supply is obtained. This is an example of the elaborate means of defence adopted throughout the land. Another resource is the building of stockades, styled *Mákra*, or *P'akrái mákrang*, which are erected on a magnificent scale, wood being everywhere ready to hand. Sir C. MacGregor, in his narrative of the Bhotan Campaign of 1864-65, alludes to these stockades : " The enemy only expected an attack from the front, and had prepared the ascending road in a manner which would have done credit to a European engineer. Every turn in it, every spot whence it was commanded, was strongly barricaded, and these were made so close together, that the enemy evacuating one could find shelter behind the next before we could arrive ; while each would offer an obstacle to our progress. If we had attacked by this road, we should have lost 100 men at the least."

Again, describing the Bhotanese victory at Bala on February 15th, 1865, Sir Charles writes : " The Bhutias, elated by their success, continued their tactics of approaching us by a series of breastworks, and erected some in the bed of the river within two miles of our camp. Again we made a feeble attempt to drive them off ; but as the attack was only half-hearted, it of course failed, and a frightened retirement commenced and might have ended in a *sauve qui peut* flight, if it had not been for the gallantry of a native officer in charge of a small party of cavalry who, estimating the Bhutias at their worth, soon put

them to flight. Such is the account of the occurrences at Bala, and it is a very sickening one."

#### RELIGION OF BHOTAN.

Technically, the Buddhism of Bhotan differs from that form which is considered orthodox in Tibet. The Gelukpa School of Buddhism, which embodies the reforms inaugurated by Tsongkhapa in the 14th century A. D., is the established creed of Tibet; while in Bhotan they reject Tsongkhapa's teaching and profess to be a Red Cap sect, following an elder school of the faith, known as the Kargyü'pa, which still has many votaries in Tibet and especially in Ladak. Bhotanese Buddhism, however, claims to be a reformed edition of the Kágyü'pa teaching, and, indeed, has the dignity of being a distinctive school in itself, styled LHO-DRUKPA. This variety of the creed owes its origin to the learned lama who founded the great monastery at Tashichhoidzong, and, with it, the new school, about the year 1660. We have already referred to this personage, Shábdung Ngagwang Namgyal, who still becomes incarnate in the successive Dharma Rajas of Bhotan. Both the Lho-drukpa sect and the Kágyü'pa, which was the established religion of Bhotan during several centuries previously, deal largely in magical ceremonies and the fanciful superstitions prescribed by the Buddhist Tantras. Much of the ritual and the eclectic methods of gaining good things in the circle of transmigratory existence belong to the system invented and expounded by Padma Sambhawa in the 8th century A. D. Indeed, no literary work is more popular in the country than that which is ascribed to this individual, the famous Padma Tang-yig, or "Lotos Picture-writings."

Curiously enough, the National Sect of the Bhotanese has extended its influence over the border into Tibet, and even to so distant a land as Ladak, where there exists a Lho-drukpa establishment, the Stagna Gompa. But the strangest fact is that all the monasteries standing round the base of mount Kailas, as well as the eight monasteries grouped round the Manasarowar lakes, 800 miles from the Bhotan border, should be considered to belong to this form of Buddhism and to be directly subject spiritually to the Dharma Raja. The chief ruler of the Kailas establishments is the head of the Dindip'u Gompa on the western flank of the mountain. He is locally known as the Lhoba Lama and is replaced every three years by a fresh importation from Bhotan, sent direct from Tashichhoidzong. Similarly, the head lama of Taklakhar in Purang, near the Lipu-lek Pass from Kumaon, comes also from Bhotan. On this account many Lhoba monks migrate into western Tibet, as they can often procure lucrative offices at the head of the various small Gompas which crowd the vicinity of the sacred



Kailas, and which are all, strangely enough, Lho-drukpa in doctrine.

On the whole, the lamaseries of Bhotan are, in modern days, not so popular as they are in Tibet. Every village, indeed, includes a small monastery, and some of the largest towns possess a couple ; but the number of inmates rarely exceeds thirty, or forty. In the lower valleys crops and vegetables are of such rapid and prolific production that prosperity and an easy livelihood cause the life of a layman to be much less laborious and hand to mouth than it is in Tibet. Consequently there is not the same temporal inducement to take monastic vows as in those ice-bound lands to the North where mere existence is the main struggle. Still, the higher lamas have great influence in Bhotan and exact and receive full homage and support from all save the highest official classes. But, as we have seen, civil broils constitute, in many districts, such an important sphere in ordinary daily life, that lay folk of energy and military prowess are in request, often outrivalling the ecclesiastics in riches and influence. This in itself gives a position to the secular calling not observable in other Tibeto-Buddhistic lands.

Both nunneries (*áni-gompa*) and monasteries occur throughout the country ; and the former are quite as well tenanted as the latter. The faces of the *áni*, or nuns, are supposed to be kept blackened with deep stains from a vegetable juice named *tuija* ; but the staining process, which was originally designed to conceal their good looks and thus promote morality, is not very effectual in that way. To speak the truth, illicit connections between the *gelong*, or monks, and the *áni* are the rule, not at all the exception. When Sir J. D. Hooker made his famous trip through Sikkim, he remarked upon the troop of little boys and girls besetting the precincts of most temples and monasteries. These children, the lamas invariably informed him, were their nephews and nieces, not their own offspring. So, too, in Bhotan, the portals of the little cottages where monks and nuns reside are common resorts of the numerous nephews and nieces appertaining to them. At the larger establishments at Tashichhoidzong, Páro, Tongsa, and other centres, strict discipline under the head of morality and celibacy is enforced ; and all open scandals of the kind are punished by severe castigation and expulsion. When such offences are proved, the usual punishment for a *gelong* is 200 blows from a whip composed of several lashes made of tough creepers, for an *áni* 100 stripes. But in country places the only stripes which monks of the loose fish order have to bear, come from the strong arms of their ebony faced *inamorata*.

Both monks and nuns keep their heads close shaven, and both wear robes of a dingy red colour, made from cloth stained

with the juice of the *chud* root. The *gelong* also have red caps, also a red pouch, in which is carried a small brass flask, containing sacred water called *ngagchhu*. The shoes and caps now worn universally by religious personages throughout Tibet are stated to have been originated by the monks of Bhotan. In Burmah and Ceylon, Buddhist monks go bareheaded.

In the largest towns the monasteries are of considerable size and surrounded by strongly built walls; but they have not the picturesque and fortress-like aspect of similar edifices in Ladak. In villages the monastery takes the form of a square LHA-KHANG, or temple, of two storeys, with a row or two of small hovels near it, wherein the *gelong* and temple attendants reside. In the *Lha-khang* the images, altars, and other devotional apparatus occupy the lower storey, which is also the worship-hall. It is generally built with a small vestibule, containing several large prayer-barrels, placed on end upon pivots, which can be made to revolve by persons entering or quitting the edifice. Upstairs are a collection of Tibetan books, a small apartment where the senior lama sleeps, and, perhaps, a room named the *gong-khang*, wherein are stored a few "terrific deities," i.e., gods with fierce faces, as well as the grotesque masks used in honour of Padma Sambhawa.

Other religious erections to be seen are CHHORTEN, lime-washed monument-like structures, placed on steps and crowned with a spiral top bearing a ball and crescent. These often have the pounded bones and other relics of some ascetic lama embedded in a cavity in the cube which forms the centre-piece of the *chhorten*. They correspond to the *chaitya* of Indian Buddhism, and—though of very different shape—to the *dagoba* which are so common in Ceylon at the present day. MENDANG are found outside villages and at the base of ascents to important mountain-passes. They are heaps of inscribed slabs of stone banked up betwixt low, lengthy parallel walls. Passing travellers frequently deposit fresh slabs duly inscribed. These heaps are about 150 feet long. MANI KHORLO are huge prayer-barrels, turning on fixed axles, placed in series under a pent-roof shed. Each contains, wound round the axle inside, a roll of paper upon which have been printed innumerable repetitions of the formula *Om mani padme hum*. MANI-CHHUKHOR-CHHEN are enormous rolls of paper inscribed with the same formula, covered in with strong cloth and placed near descending streams, being made to revolve by means of a long wooden spindle to which a kind of water-wheel is attached.

#### THE POPULAR SIDE OF BUDDHISM.

His religion; so far as the higher tenets of Buddhism are concerned, sits very lightly upon the heart of the Bhotanese.



For example, the cardinal doctrine of transmigration troubles him so little that you never hear him discuss the question of his next re-birth. On the occasion of the death of her husband, a wife, indeed, will attend at the temple to perform the usual *kangsha* ceremonial, the object of which is to hasten the departure of her husband's spirit from the Bardo, or Buddhist purgatory. She provides white beer, or even tea, for the half-dozen *gelong* who read in chorus the proper treatise, and makes the usual offerings of grain and butter according to her means and social position. But all this is attended to more as a matter of custom and because the lamas require their perquisites on these little occasions. Again, as to the edict of the faith against the slaughter of animals, this is only observed with regard to the killing of wild animals. Game, or "black meat," is not eaten, and the occupation of a regular sportsman is never followed. But, in no country is a larger quantity of beef, mutton, and pork consumed than in Bhotan. Meat is eaten without scruple; and part of the recognised ceremonial observed at a wedding is the slaughter with arrows of two oxen and two pigs, which are publicly cooked by the feasters in large cauldrons. Nevertheless, the semblance of disapproval of killing even tame beasts for food is kept up. A vendor of meat is always spoken of, even in common talk, as *dikchen shempa*, "sinful butcher;" and a woman would say to her daughter: *Dikchen shempa-la gyuk-ti chhimpa. bák shok!* "Run to the sinful butcher and fetch some liver." Of actual religious observances in daily life, the principal are the purely mechanical acts of turning the hand prayer-mill in one hand while one may be talking to a neighbour, and the circumambulation of any temple, or *chhorten*, which one may pass, two or three times, keeping the right side turned towards it in so doing.

For all this, religion of a kind has in one sense, a large direction in what a man does or plans. A Bhotani has the greatest belief in omens and in demons. Every village has its *shibdag*, or god of the soil, to be constantly propitiated; every house has its *t'áb-lha*, who must not be offended. If a man has a journey to go, before undertaking it he consults the *ngag-chhang*, or lama skilled in sorcery, as to its success and the next lucky day for setting out. The seed is not sown, or the crops reaped, without calling in the *ngag-chhang* to coerce the god of the soil to be favourable and to disperse antagonistic demons. When a person is proceeding on any important mission, he carefully observes the omens indicated by the birds, trees, people, he may encounter; and he will even turn back if these are plainly to his disadvantage. If milk

on the fire boils over and wets the hearth, the *t'áb-lha* will be full of wrath unless he be instantly appeased by various sacrifices of a trivial character.

Illness, in particular, is always caused by a *ts'en*, or devil, sometimes by a regular bevy of evil spirits. Book-reading by lamas and conjurations of an occult character are, therefore, imperative on these occasions. The object is to expel the malignant beings. When sickness troubles a house, one may generally notice, on the hill-side above it, a number of curious tall wands of wood, rigged with cross-pieces and twine of different colours, the whole closely resembling the masts and rigging of a ship. This is all the more curious because neither Tibetans nor Bhotanese can ever have beheld a ship. But the tradition amongst them is that the favourite dwelling of a demon is of that shape; so, to entice him out of the sick man, these toy-masts are ranged attractively outside the afflicted domicile.

#### FLORA AND FAUNA.

Under this head a few notes ought to be appended; for the regions under review are rich in both departments.

The vegetation in the lower valleys and upon the subordinate hill spurs in the southern districts is particularly varied and abundant. From the Indian Ocean flow in the warm, moisture-laden currents which promote the growth of innumerable semi-tropical trees and plants; and the naturalist, in the southern parts, would be bewildered by the wealth of botanical specimens available. However, this luxuriance falls short of that to be met with in the Teesta and Runjeet valleys of Sikkim. Probably the prodigality of the flora of Sikkim arises from the currents of heavy moisture arriving there, without any break or obstruction in their course, from the Bay of Bengal, their first deposit occurring on the slopes around Darjeeling. On the other hand, the supply which reaches Bhotan has had to cross either the Khasia or the Garo hills, and their heights have naturally robbed the influx, *en route*, of much of its fertilising virtue.

A noticeable feature of the flora of Bhotan is the great range of its general character and the continuous gradation of botanical zones represented. The series passes from semi-tropical, or even tropical, vegetation up to the absolutely alpine forms. In the southernmost valleys are a chaos of heat-loving species—of India-rubbers, screw-pines, *Gordonia*, *Stauntonia*, *Lagærstræmia*, *Terminalia*, the mammoth-flowered *Dillenia*, with various kinds of *Calamus*, and, some way up the spurs, the two striking tree-ferns, *Alsophila gigantea* and *A spinulosa*. At 5,000 feet, semi-tropical trees still abound, while a



large variety of Magnolias, *Hydrangea*, *Talauma*, *Colquhounia*, put in their appearance ; under foot are primulas, balsams, and anemones of every modern colour. But the pride and wonder of these forests are the magnificent parasites and creepers. Great tree-trunks are closely packed in climbing epiphytes of the densest tissue ; while lovely orchids swing from aloft, performing feats of calisthenic exercise with every conceivable grotesqueness of shape. Amongst the monster parasitic climbers may be noticed especially *Vaccinium serpens*, with its scarlet blossoms, *Beaumontia*, ascending to the giddiest heights, to hang from branch to branch its garlands of huge trumpet-like white flowers, and *Hodgsonia heteroclita*, with massive bunches, all yellow and buff. The spruce-firs and pines have already commenced, and, accompanying the mountains, succeed in different species according to the altitude. A little higher, before you reach 7,000 feet, the rhododendron zone starts into life. Here are *R. Arboreum*, *R. Dalhousiæ*, *R. Falconeri*, with most of the fascinating varieties first brought by Dr. Hooker from the Himalayas, several kinds having their flowers delicately scented. The rhododendrons ascend to quite 14,000 feet, a dwarf species (*dáli* of the Bhotanese) occurring even higher. In this connection, it is worth noticing that the natives assign the general name of *takpa* to all white-flowered rhododendrons, and style every red-flowered species *takma*, saying that the former are male in gender and that all the latter sort are female, though, botanically, of course, this is by no means the case. Further north, along the river-beds and up the slopes of the great scarp ridges, even at altitudes of 11,000 to 13,000 feet, numerous flowering plants occur, including asters, gentians, and aconites, with many species of *Tanacetum*, *Ranunculus*, *Clematis*, *Corydalis*, and *Polygonum*. The ravines also are choked with huge specimens of the silver fir, together with an undergrowth of sub-alpine rhododendrons. Higher and higher, towards Tibet, on the ascending shelves of bare grey mountain, entrenching here and there monster saucers, full of deep snow even in mid-summer, we soon encounter the whole series of the alpine flora of Asia—*Astragalus*, *Oxytropis*, *Oxyria* and *Artemisia*. At 15,000 feet have been gathered as many as 204 species of plants, 25 of which were woody shrubs at least three feet high—a fact affording us some notion of how little temperature can stay vegetable growth so long as there is shelter and a fair scope for root development. Neither are slender and bright-hued flowers absent, for on passes in North Bhotan of upwards of 13,000 feet occur the splendid white poppies of *Meconopsis superba*, growing on stems six feet high ; while at 14,500 feet may be seen the large sky-blue blossoms of the *Meconopsis Wallichii*, the orange-

coloured *Senecio*, and the "deep blue stars of *Cyananthus*.\* Above 16,000 feet, on such passes as the Monlakhachhung, we cannot look for much else than *Saussurea*, *Pedicularis*, *Saxifraga*, and that loftiest-found of all, *Delphinium glaciale*, with, of course, the mystic circlets of *Arenaria*.

A great deal has been done in recent years to elucidate the more alpine flora of Bhotan by the despatch of trained native collectors on botanical excursions into the interior. In organizing this work, Dr. David Prain, of the Seebpore Gardens, has shown himself indefatigable; while the decipherment of the results of these expeditions has rested almost wholly on him. Several new species of *Meconopsis*, *Corydalis*, and other characteristic genera have thus been identified and published by Dr. Prain. Mr. J. S. Gammie also is an authority on the botany of this region.

Passing now to the fauna, we have space for little else beyond an enumeration of the chief mammalia. Where the lower valleys abut on the Duars terai, there are to be found at least two species of rhinoceros (*Sálok* of the natives); and probably a third, *Rhinoceros lasiotis*. There, also, are to be met troops of wild elephants (*langchhen*), which ascend the forest-clad slopes to a considerable height. Both the tiger (*tag*) and the Indian leopard (*zik*) occur in the southern districts. Further north they are replaced by the fierce, yet less formidable, feline species known to the natives as *Sikmar*, "red leopard," and *Pungmar*, "red shoulders." These forms, which occur up to 7,500 feet, are really *Felis marmorata* and *Felis nebulosa* of naturalists; the latter, curiously enough, being found in Bhotan and also in Sumatra, but in none of the countries intervening between these widely-separated regions. Further north yet, other *felidæ* supersede the last-named. In Panákha and Kurtö, at altitudes of from 11,000 to 13,000 feet, the lovely-coated snow-leopard, *Felis uncia*, is even common. The Pönlob of Tongsa and other chieftains have superb cloaks made of selected skins of the *Sá*, as the Bhotani terms it, such indeed as Rowland Ward has never been fortunate enough to handle: silky white, with jet-black circlets, they form magnificent winter robes of office. *Felis nigrescens* (Hodgson) is the other animal of the family, styled by the hillmen *Juk-kar*, because of the white under-surface of the tail.

The monster wild sheep of Tibet—Hodgson's variety of *Ovis ammon*—is not, it seems, ever caught wandering into

---

\* Several of the beautiful *Meconopsis* genus are met within Bhotan. So far the following species have been discriminated: *M. horridula* (light purple), *M. sinuata* (mauve), *M. paniculata* (yellow), *M. superba* (white), *M. Wallichii* (pale blue), *M. primulina* (purple). The new species of this genus lately described by Dr. Prain, *M. bella*, has been as yet found only in the extreme North-West of Sikkim, at 12,000 feet altitude; but it also probably occurs in Bhotan.



Bhotan territory ; but its lesser cousin, *Ovis nahura*, occurs in large troops in Páru and the north of Thingbu. Two distinct species of musk-deer, as well as the goa and two species of serow are also common ; but the Himalayan ibex is unknown.

However, the more distinctive mammals of this region have yet to be mentioned. First comes the noble *Sháwa* stag (*cervus affinis*), still found in the upper valleys of Bhotan, where Buddhist tenets prevent all molestation of such animals. Its horns reach to 56 inches in length. Next must be noted the curious *Budorcas taxicolor*, well described by the native name *Tákyin*, signifying "horse-ibex." It is not at all uncommon in the Kuru provinces of East Bhotan. A very peculiar horsey beast this is, about eleven hands in height at the shoulder ; and both males and females carry ox-like horns, those of the male being twenty to twenty-four inches in length. Thirdly, we would mention a unique quadruped, half cat half bear, living wholly in trees, with opossum-like habits. This is *Ailurus ochraceus*, the *Wá dongkar*, or "white-faced fox," of the Bhotani. It is a big creature, three-and-a-half feet from nose to tip of tail ; and the contrast between the general colour, a rusty red, and the flat white face imparts to it a bizarre aspect. It spits and hisses like a cat, but is wholly vegetarian in its food. Other animals frequenting the Bhotan territory deserve more than mere enumeration did space permit, especially as several have not yet been differentiated from allied species from which they deserve to be separated. Otters, in great plenty in the many rivers, run to three diverse kinds ; there are also a brock-ferret, styled *Wok-kar*, or "white-throat," by the natives, and two badgers, one called *Gyumpa*, the other *Pakdom*. To these might be added various species of marmot, lagomys, and hare, common in the valleys of the North. Curiously enough, the Bhotani classes the hare as a kind of donkey, and looks on the use of the animal as food with abhorrence.

Indeed, in this land, the eating of all wild animals and game, whether mammalian or avian, is strongly discouraged on religious grounds ; and when members of the political mission of 1864 shot birds as ornithological specimens, some violent storms which occurred just after were attributed to the wrath of the great goddess Dolma. Thus, it comes to pass, that Bhotan remains to this day singularly well-stocked with animals as multitudinous as they are multifarious.

GRAHAM SANDBERG.

### ART. III.—THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF THE IDEA OF METEMPSYCHOSIS.

THE Idea of the Transmigration of the eternal entity called the Soul, or “Ψύχη,” or “A’nima,” or A’tma, or Ruh, into successive mortal substances, either Human, or Animal, or Vegetable, or Mineral, is neither new, nor unnoticed, in the history of mankind; nor is it in itself unreasonable. I propose to treat it in detail :

#### I. EUROPE.

- A. Pythagoras and Empedocles.
- B. Homer.
- C. Plato.
- D. Virgil.
- E. Ovid.
- F. Lucan.
- G. Claudian.
- H. Irish Book of Balimote.

A. Pythagoras was born at Samos about 580 B.C., travelled in Egypt, and settled at Crotona, in South Italy, about 540, B.C., the period of the return of the Hebrews from Babylon. He was the first who adopted the title of philosopher; started a school of philosophy and applied the word Κόσμος to the Universe, of which he knew so small a portion. Among others of the great ideas to which he gave birth, or perhaps only reduced from oral legends to writing, were these: (1) that the Soul, Ψύχη, was immortal, and it was obvious to the senses, that the body was only mortal; (2) that the immortal Soul passed from one body at its death into another. The idea was called by him Μετεμψυχώσις (Metempsychosis), or the Transmigration of the Soul from one place of habitation to another; perhaps the more perfect term would have been Μετενσωμάτωσις (Metensomatosis), as it was the body which was changed, not the Soul.

There is little doubt that Pythagoras got his idea about the soul from Egypt, which he had visited; that he derived it from India, is out of all reason, as his idea differs from the Indian idea in important particulars, and from the Buddhist idea *in toto*, while there is a resemblance of his idea to the Egyptian idea, both in essentials and in details.

Empédocles lived at Agrigentum, in Sicily, 460 to 430, B.C. He was remarkable in his life as a thinker and propounder of new doctrines at that particular epoch when the mind of man, both in the East and in the West, was waking up from its torpor. He gave birth to germs of truth, which were deve-



loped in succeeding centuries by Plato and Aristotle; and he propounded the doctrine of Transmigration of the Soul, possibly deriving it from Pythagoras. His end was as mysterious as his life, for he disappeared, and it was reported that he had leaped into the crater of Mount Etna. Horace writes thus:

“Deus immortalis haberi  
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam  
Insiluit.”

Heraclitus Ponticus relates that Pythagoras professed to have been once born as Athalides, the son of Hermes, and then to have obtained a boon from his father:

“ζῶντα καὶ τελεύτωντα μνήμην ἔχειν τῶν  
συμβαίνόντων.”

Consequently he remembered the Trojan War, when, as Euphorbus, he was wounded by Menelaus; and, as Pythagoras, he could still recognise the shield which Menelaus had hung up in the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ; and, similarly, he remembered his subsequent birth as Hermotimus, and then as Pyrrhus, a fisherman of Delos. It is noteworthy that his was a unique experience in Greek History. Horatius Flaccus alludes to this in his Odes, I, xxviii, 9:

“habentque  
“Tartara Panthoiden *iterum* Orco  
“Demissum, quamvis clipeo Trojana refixo  
“Tempora testatus nihil ultra  
“Nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae ”

The absence of all recollection of acts done in a former state of existence is explained by the Hindu philosopher by the assertion, that at each death the Soul is divested of mind, understanding, and consciousness.

Still, some men did recollect their former existences.

Plato, in the Dialogue of Meno, Vol. I, p. 281, places the following words in the mouth of Socrates:

“Certain wise men and women spoke of a glorious Truth, that the Soul of man is immortal, and at one time has an end, which is called ‘dying,’ and at another time is born again, but is never destroyed. And the moral is, that a man ought to live always in perfect holiness. For in the ninth year Persephone sends the souls of those from whom she has received the penalty of ancient crime, back again into the light of this world, and these are they who become noble kings, and mighty men, and great in wisdom, and are called saintly heroes in after ages.”

“The Soul, then, as being immortal, and having been born again many times, and having seen all things that there are,

whether in this world or in the world below, has knowledge of them all: and it is no wonder that she should be able to call to remembrance all that she ever knew about virtue, and about everything; for as all Nature is akin, and the Soul has learned all things, there is no difficulty in her eliciting, or, as men say, *learning*, all out of a single recollection, if a man be strenuous, and does not faint: for *all inquiry and all learning are but recollection* ('Ανάμνησις)."

If it be true that all knowledge is nothing else than reminiscence, it is surely necessary that we must at some time have learned what we remember:

"ὅτι ἡμῖν ἡ μάθησις οὐκ ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀνάμνησις τυγχάνει οἶσα."

But this is impossible: our Soul existed before it came within the human form. Cicero, in his "Tusculan Disputations," I, 24, writes, speaking of the Soul: "Habet primum memoriam, et eam infinitam rerum innumerabilium quam quidem Plato *Recordationem* esse vult superioris vitae."

Following the order of Jowett's Edition of Plato's Dialogues, I pass on to Vol. I, "Phædo," p. 443:

"Cebes answered: 'I agree, Socrates, in the greater part of what you say. But in what relates to the Soul men are apt to be incredulous: they fear that, when she has left the body, her place may be nowhere, and that on the very day of death (of the body) she may be destroyed and perish. If she could only hold together, and be herself, when she is released from the evils of the body, there would be good reason to hope, Socrates, that what you say is true. But much persuasion and many arguments are required in order to prove that, when the man is dead, the Soul still exists, and has any force or intelligence.'

"Socrates replied: 'Whether the Souls of men after death are, or are not, in the world below, is a question which may be argued in this way. The ancient doctrine affirms that they go hence into the other world, and return hither, and are born from the dead. So our Souls must exist in the other world, for, if not, how could they have been born again? But as there is no evidence of this, other arguments will have to be adduced.'"

Socrates then works out a long argument to prove that not everything living is born of the dead, and the Soul will exist after death as well as before birth: then comes the greater question, to decide what becomes of the Soul which leaves the body *pure*, and the Soul which leaves the body *impure*. This brings out the terrible theory of Retribution, and at p. 459, Socrates tells us that the souls of men who followed after gluttony, and wantonness, and drunkenness, will pass into Asses, and animals of that sort, and the souls of those



who have chosen the portion of injustice and tyranny, will pass into wolves or hawks ; and the souls of those who have practised the civil and social virtues, which are called Temperance and Justice, will pass into some gentle social nature like their own, such as that of bees, wasps, and ants, or even back again into the form of man, and just and moderate men will spring from them ; and he who is a philosopher or lover of learning, and abstains from all fleshly lusts, and refuses to give himself up to them, is alone permitted to obtain the Divine Nature.

Socrates opens out, p. 457, another solemn delusion, which has preyed on the Human mind for centuries, and still maintains its grasp.

"The Soul which has been polluted and is impure at the time of her departure, and is the companion and servant of the body always, and is fascinated with the desires and pleasures of the body . . . . such a Soul is held fast by the corporeal element, and is depressed and dragged back again into the visible world, because she is afraid of the invisible world and the world below : prowling about tombs and sepulchres, in the neighbourhood of which are seen ghostly apparitions of souls, which have not departed pure, but are cloyed with sight and therefore visible, and they continue to wander, until, through the craving of the corporeal, which never leaves them, they are imprisoned finally in another body. And they may be supposed to find their prisons in the same natures which they had in their former lives."

Milton, in his "Comus," re-echoes this idea (l. 463) :

"But when Lust,

"By unchaste looks, loose gestures, and foul talk,

"But most by lewd and lavish act of sin,

"Lets in defilement to the inward parts,

"The Soul grows clotted by contagion,

"Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose

"The divine property of her first being.

"Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp,

"Oft seen in charnel-vaults and sepulchres,

"Lingering, and sitting by a new-made grave,

"As loth to leave the body that it loved,

"And link'd itself, by carnal sensuality,

"To a degenerate, and degraded state."

Plato, in his "Phædrus," returns to the subject (Vol. ii, pp. 125, 126). I quote Jowett's "Introduction" page 80, as condensing the matter. Socrates is the speaker : "The Soul is Immortal, for she "is the source of all motion, both in herself and others. Her form may be described in a figure as a composite nature made up of a charioteer and a pair of

winged steeds. The steeds of the gods are immortal, but the steeds of the Soul are, one mortal, and the other immortal. The immortal Soul soars up into the Heavens, but the mortal drops her plumes and settles upon the earth."

"On a certain day Zeus goes forth in a winged chariot, and an array of gods and demigods, and of human souls, follows him; the mortal steed of the soul sinks down to the earth. Yet, if the soul has followed in the train of her god, and once beheld truth, she is preserved harmless; but if she drops her wing and falls to the earth, then she takes the form of a man. The soul which has seen most of the truth, passes into a philosopher, or a lover; that which has seen truth in a second degree, into a king, or warrior, and so on to the ninth degree. In all these conditions the lot of him who lives righteously is improved, and the lot of him who lives unrighteously deteriorates. At the end of every thousand years the soul has another choice, and may go upwards or downwards, may descend into a beast, or return again to the form of man. But the form of man can only be acquired at all by those who have once beheld the Truth, for the Soul of man alone apprehends the Universal, and this is the recollection, *ἀνάμνησις*, of that knowledge, which she obtained when in the company of the gods. Ten thousand years must elapse before the souls of men in general can regain their first lot, and have their wings restored to them. But the soul of a philosopher, or a lover, who has three times in succession chosen the better life, may receive wings, and go her way in three thousand years."

In the "Timaeus," Vol. iii, p. 624, we read: "The great Creator considered, that a perfect world could not exist without mortals. If they were created by him, and received life from him, they would be on an equality with the gods: the inferior gods were therefore ordered to form animals, and the Creator would supply the divine and immortal part. Accordingly, souls were created as numerous as the stars, and each soul had a star, but was implanted in a body: they had certain passions, but, if they conquered, then they would live righteously; and, if they were conquered by them, unrighteously. He who lived well during his appointed time, was to return to his 'star,' and there he would have a suitable existence; but if he failed in attaining this, in the second generation he would pass into a woman, and, should he not desist from his evil ways, he would be changed into some brute beast, who resembled him in his evil ways, and would not cease from his lusts and transformation until he returned to the form of his first and better nature."

Again, at page 675 we read: "Thus were created women, but the race of birds was created out of innocent, light-minded



men, who, although their minds were directed towards Heaven, imagined in their simplicity that the clearest demonstration of the things above would be obtained by sight : these were transformed into birds and grew feathers instead of hair. The reason why quadrupeds and polypods were created is, that the Creator gave the more senseless of them the more support, that they might be attracted to the earth. The inhabitants of the water were made out of the most entirely ignorant and senseless beings." This and much more is narrated, and Plato closes the Dialogue with the following words : " These are the laws by which animals pass into one another, both now and ever changing, as they lose or gain wisdom and folly."

Strabo, Book IV, writes :

" Ἀφθάρτους τὰς ψυχὰς λέγουσι."

Valerius Maximus, Book V, and Diodorus, Book VI, could also be quoted.

In the Introduction to the " History of Religion " (1896), is a chapter (xxii) on the " Transmigration of Souls," by Dr. F. B. Jevons, of Durham, no mean authority on such subjects, and as it has been lately published, it may be presumed, that it is an up-to-date view of the subject. The twelve pages of this Chapter go over ground, which is not necessarily part of the argument, but a knowledge of which is necessary to arrive at an understanding of the germs from which the idea rose.

I. The general idea of Barbarians was, that after death the individual "*Homo*" rejoined his " totem," and assumed the shape of the plant or animal which was worshipped as the " totem."

II. As the religious idea of the human race developed, more advanced ideas came into existence, one of which was the Idea of " retribution in a future state," for acts done during life. These two ideas in some communities existed side by side, notably in Egypt and India. This state of things may have lasted for a long period; but the two Ideas acted and reacted on each other, and at last the artificial combination of the " Retribution " theory with Totemism produced, in Egypt, a real theory of Metempsychosis, but an incomplete one : (1) it was only the wicked who were doomed to Transmigration ; (2) the soul of a man migrated into animals, returning finally to human form ; (3) there was no escape from this cycle ; but, when the human form was again attained, the soul had another trial and another chance of becoming Osiris, which was the Egyptian formula for eternal happiness.

In India the process was different : the idea of Transmigration was extended to the virtuous, as well as the wicked, who passed into animals or men according to their deeds and knowledge. Here is the *genuine* theory of Metempsychosis, or Trans-

migration of Souls ; and man has been introduced into the list of metamorphoses. All men were born again : the good had a good birth, and the bad a bad one, according to their deeds and deserts : there was no escape from this environment, whether the soul behaved badly, or well, he had to be reborn.

Thus far the Brahman : the Buddhist went further ; with him there was no god, no immortal soul, and there could be no transmigration of soul, but a transmission of Karma, or Character (not soul) : the extinction of cravings for delight of the body, or Nirvana, was the object of the Buddhist : this will be described further on.

The accomplished authoress of an Article in the *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1897, "Sculptured Tombs of Hellas," makes the following important suggestions :

"At Athens and Delphi the doctrieness of Orphism took strong hold ; but it was in Lower Italy, owing to the teaching of Pythagoras and Empedocles, that they developed most completely, and issued in a Totemistic doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Many a barbarian believed that, after death, he would pass into the shape of the sacred animal which had been his token (Totem) in this world.

The inscription on one Greek vase from Apulia, and on golden tablets from Thurii and Peletia in Italy, suggest something more : 'Thou wilt feel a stream of cold water flowing from the mere of Mnemosyne : in front of it stand guards. Say : 'I am the child of Earth, and starry sky :

" Ἰῆς παῖς εἶμι καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

I am of heavenly birth ; I am parched and faint with thirst ; give me cool water from the mere of Mnemosyne" and they will give thee the divine water to drink.' "

The doctrine is clear : the initiated Soul may not drink of the oblivious waters of Lethe : it is reborn by remembering again, by virtue of the Divine Life in him : this is the doctrine of Plato's *Ἀνάμνησις*. Immortality is but the reassertion of the Divine Life in man.

In their groping after the future, men stretched out their hands into the dark abyss, and, as they advanced in intellect, their speculations became more daring. We must speak and write humbly, for in this nineteenth century A.D., we have no knowledge, only that Faith, the "evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews, xi, 1). The two theories were :

- (1) The continuance of this life in another World.
- (2) Retribution.

In the first theory the future life was very much as the old one : the Chief required his wives, his servants, his jewels, his armour, and his food ; ancient tombs reveal this. In the



second theory the future life depended on conduct in the present.

Later ages struck out new ideas :

- (1) Absorption of the Soul, and practical destruction of its individuality.
- (2) The Transmigration of the Soul into a new body.
- (3) The wandering of the Soul, free from its corporeal covering, in its old earthly environment.

Let us dispose of the last alternative first : it lies outside the limits of an essay on the transmigration of souls from one earthly tenement to another, such as was the case of these poor souls, as described by Socrates in the "Phaedo," and Milton in the "Comus," quoted above at p. 95C.

The following quotation is from Shakespeare's "Measure for Measure," III, Scene 1 :

" . . . . and the delighted Spirit  
 " To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
 " In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice ;  
 " To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,  
 " And blown with restless violence round about  
 " The pendent worlds : it is too horrible ! "

In uncultured tribes the idea was, that the soul would not remain quiet unless proper funeral rites were performed to the poor body : this is brought out strongly in the Sixth Book of Virgil's 'Aeneid,' 337 : the boatman Charon would not ferry across the Styx those who had not been properly buried. Moreover, in some cases the spirit came back and vented its wrath upon its nearest relations. This is the real motive of the worship of Ancestors in China.

The Greek and Roman Poets, Homer and Virgil, reflecting the beliefs of their age, give us a most unphilosophical and unsatisfactory substitute for either of the three alternatives.

The Elysian Fields are certainly a somewhat higher type than the sensual Paradise of Mahomet, or the Purgatory of the Church of Rome. Some very bad cases lived in perpetual torture, though the story of Tantalus and Sisyphus both seem allegories of the result of particular vices ; but the position of those who were deemed good seems the most unhappy. Dido still had her sorrows, from which she sought consolation from her dead husband, to whose memory she had been unfaithful. Achilles mourned the change from activity to hopeless idleness, but he retained memory of the past :

" Quam vellent aether in alto  
 Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores ! "

VIRGIL : *Aeneid*, vi, 436.

“ Μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεύ.

“ Βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρονρος ἐὼν θητενέμεν ἄλλω.

“ Ἡ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.”

HOMER : *Odyssey*, xi, 488.

“ Scoff not at death,” he answered, “ noble Chief,  
Rather would I in the Sun's warmth divine  
Serve a poor churl, who drags his days in grief,  
Than the whole lordship of the dead were mine.”

WORSLEY'S Translation.

When such were the conceptions in the time of Homer with regard to the future condition of the dead—even those who were conventionally deemed “good,” there could have been no contemporary idea of Transmigration of Souls. Centuries later, when Virgil handled the subject, the idea, as described above, had crept in ; the World had advanced, and Pythagoras and Plato had spoken, opening out new vistas of thought.

Virgil, in the Sixth Book of the “Aeneid,” writes (I. 735) :

“ Quin et, supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,  
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes  
Corporeae excedunt pestes : penitusque necesse est  
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.  
*Ergo exercentur poenis, veterumque malorum*  
Supplicia expendunt. Aliae panduntur inanes,  
Suspensae, ad ventos : aliis sub gurgite vasto  
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.  
Quisque suos patimur Manes : exinde per amplum  
Mittimur Elysium, et pauci laeta arva tenemus.  
Donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,  
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit  
Aethereum sensum, atque, aurai simplicis ignem.  
Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,  
Lethaeum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno ;  
Scilicet *immemores* supera ut convexa revisant,  
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti. ”

Anchises showed to Aeneas some of his descendants who, having been freed from the stain of former lives, and having drunk of the waters of Lethe, were about to assume new forms and enter the battle of life again : this called forth Aeneas' sad remark :

“ O pater, anne aliquas ad coelum hinc ire putandum est  
Sublimes animas, iterumque in tarda reverti  
Corpora ? Quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido ? ”



But Virgil, in the *Aeneid*, III, 20-40, describes the transmigration of a comparatively innocent man, Polydorus, son of King Priam of Troy, into a tree overhanging his tomb, from the branches of which blood flowed when they were cut with a knife, and the unfortunate soul thus imprisoned had the power of recognising those who amputated his limbs, and speaking with an intelligible voice :

“ Gemitus lacrimabilis imo  
Auditur tumulo, et vox reddita fertur ad aures :  
Quid miserum, Aenéa, laceras ? jam parce sepulto ;  
Parce pias scelerare manus. Non me tibi Troja  
Externum tulit : aut cruor hic de stipite manat.  
Heu ! fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum.  
Nam Polydorus ego : hic confixum ferrea texit  
Telorum segès, et jaculis increvit acutis, ”

Ovid, in his “*Metamorphoses*,” about the date of the Christian era, naturally touches on this subject :

“ O genus attonitum gelidâ formidine mortis !  
Quid Styga, quid tenebras, quid numine vana, timetis,  
Materiem vatum, falsique piacula mundi ?  
Corpora sive rogos flammâ, seu tabe vetustas  
Abstulerit, mala posse pati non ulla putetis.  
Morte carent animae : semperque priore relictâ  
Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque, receptae.  
Ipse ego, nam memini, Trojani tempore belli,  
Panthoides Euphorbus eram, cui pectore quondam  
Sedit in adverso gravis hasta minoris Atridae,  
Cognovi clypeum, laevae gestaminae nostrae,  
Nuper Abanteis templo Junonis in Argis.  
Omnia mutantur : nihil interit. Errat, et illinc  
Huc venit : hinc illuc, et quoslibet occupat artûs  
Spiritus, èque feris humana in corpora transit,  
Inque feras noster, nec tempore deperit ullo,  
Utque novis facilis signatur cera figuris,  
Nec manet, ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,  
Sed *tamen ipsa eadem est : animam sic semper eandem  
Esse.* ”

(XV, 153-172.)

Lucan, in his “*Pharsalia*,” I, 454, A.D. 60, writes thus with regard to the Druids :

“ Vobis auctoribus unbrae  
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi  
Pallida regna petunt : regit idem spiritus artûs

Orbe alio : longae, canitis si cognita, vitae  
 Mors media est. Certe populi quos despicit Arctos  
 Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum  
 Maximus, haud urget leti metus. Inde ruendi  
 In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces  
 Mortis, et ignarum rediturae parcere vitae."

Julius Caesar, in his "De Bello Gallico," Book VI, Section xiii, writes about the ancient Druids of Britain :

"In primis haec volunt persuadere, non *interire animas*, sed *ab aliis post mortem transire* ad alios : atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto."

It is clear that it was impressed on the thoughtful philosopher, that some explanation must be found of the caprices of human fortune, for the holy and good are subjected to unmerited suffering, while good gifts are showered upon most unworthy recipients. Claudian, A.D. 400, remarked this phenomenon, and marvelled :

"Saepe mihi dubiam tenuit sententia mentem,  
 Curarent Superi terras, an nullus inesset  
 Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu :  
 Nam, cum dispositi quaesissem foedera mundi,  
 Praescriptosque maris fines, amnisque meatus,  
 Et lucis, noctisque, vices : tunc omnia rebar  
 Concilio firmata Dei :  
 Sed cum res Hominum tantâ caligine volvi  
 Aspiciam, laetosque diu florere nocentes,  
 Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta cadebat  
 Religio."

And the same uncertainty prevails to the present hour.

There is a curious Irish Legend recorded in the "Book of Balimote," 1400 A.D., which certainly reads as if the notion of Transmigration had been held at some previous period :

"Tuan, son of Cairill, as we are told,  
 Was freed from sin by Jesus :  
 One hundred years complete he lived,  
 He lived in blooming manhood.

"Three hundred years in the shape of a wild ox  
 He lived on the open extensive plains :  
 Two hundred and fifty years he lived  
 In the shape of a wild boar.

"Three hundred years he was still in the flesh  
 In the shape of an old bird :  
 One hundred delightful years he lived  
 In the shape of a salmon in the flood.



" A fisherman caught him in his net,  
He brought it to the king's palace :  
When the bright salmon was there seen,  
The Queen immediately longed for it.

" It was forthwith dressed for her,  
Which she alone ate entire :  
The beauteous Queen became pregnant,  
The issue of which was Tuan."

## 2. NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

A. Egypt.

B. North American Redmen.

C. The Hebrew.

D. The Manichean.

E. The Mahometan.

F. The Hindu.

G. The Buddhist.

### A. *Egypt.*

Herodotus, B.C. 470: and therefore anterior to Plato, writes (II, 123): " The Egyptians were the first to broach the opinion, that the soul of man is immortal, and that, when the body dies, it enters into the form of the animal, which is born at the moment, thence passing from one animal into another, until it has circled through the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth, water and air, after which it enters again into a human frame and is born anew. The whole period of transmigration is three thousand years. There are Greek writers, some of an earlier date, some of a later, who have borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians, and put it forward as their own."

It is unnecessary to state here any further details with regard to the Egyptian idea; it is sufficient to refer to the standard authorities on the subject of Egyptian antiquities.

### B. *North American Redmen.*

With a view of showing the universality of the idea, I merely refer to the "Golden Bough" of Mr. Frazer (i, 39, 61; ii, 97), in which mention is made of the idea of souls of dead animals occupying trees, and the soul of a man in a turtle. The Red Indians believed that the soul animating the body of an infant was that of some deceased person.

From Tylor's "Primitive Man" we gather that enslaved Negroes have been known to commit suicide, in order that they may revive in their native land.

The aborigines of Australia hold white men to be the ghosts of their own dead, in the simple formula: "Black fellow tumble down, jump up white fellow."

With regard to this last view, it may be well to quote Henry Stanley's account of his meeting with four white men who had come out from Embomma, on the West Coast of Africa, to welcome him at the close of his journey through the Dark Continent: "The sight of the pale faces of the merchants gave me the slightest suspicion of an involuntary shiver. The pale colour, after so long gazing on the rich black, and richer bronze, had something of an unaccountable ghastliness. In fact, they looked like the ghosts of dead Africans." (Vol. ii, p. 462.)

### C. *The Hebrew.*

The idea of the Hebrews on the subject of eschatology was exceedingly elementary previous to the return from exile. Their world was a three-storeyed house: they dwelt on the first floor; above them in the clouds was the second storey, the Heavens, to which only two men had ever reached, Enoch and Elijah; in the ground-storey was the Sheol, or Hades, in which all dwelt promiscuously, for Samuel, when he was summoned up to the first floor, told Saul that on the morrow he would be down with him in Sheol: good and bad, without difference.

There is little doubt that some of the Hebrew sects held the idea of transmigration of souls. We come across the idea in the Christian Scriptures of a possible existence of a former life. We know, that a future state was not a Hebrew dogma at the time of our Lord, as the Sadducees openly denied it. Now when the Sadducees, tempting the Lord on the subject of the Resurrection, asked Him whose wife would the woman be of the seven brothers, our Lord rebuked them: "Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures;" and yet it does not appear an unreasonable question from their point of view, and many a Christian tombstone records the wish of a bereaved husband, possibly a husband of two wives, to be united to the lost companions of his life.

But when the Pharisees, pointing to a man who was born blind, asked him: "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" our Lord did not rebuke them, nor did He point out that the question was a foolish one, as no man could possibly sin before his birth; but He replied: "*Neither has this man sinned*, nor his parents, but that the works of God might be made manifest in him."

Bishop Lightfoot of Durham notices the speculations of the Rabbis on this subject in his Commentary: one was, that sin was possible already in the womb, since the embryo, in its later stages, was possessed of consciousness. This seems hard on the newborn babe, who, by the theory of Augustine of Hippo, is already saddled with the "*peccatum originale*" of his reputed ancestor, Adam.



It is anyhow clear, that this question on the part of the Pharisees implies the idea of metempsychosis, or they would never have propounded such a problem, and our Lord, in His wisdom, did not satisfy their curiosity. The question is left an open one.

I am informed by a very competent authority, a medical man who lived among the Hebrews for many years in Palestine, that the common idea of the modern Hebrew is, that, at the moment of a child's birth, an Angel strikes it on the mouth, causing it to forget all that it knew in a previous existence, and the dimple on the upper lip is the result of the blow. I add a quotation from Shechter, "Studies in Judaism," 1896, pp. 345—347:

"These legends with reference to the embryo period in the life of a child are chiefly based on the notion of the pre-existence of the soul. . . . Care is taken to make the child forget all it has seen and heard in these upper regions in its state of pre-existence. Before it enters the world an angel strikes it on the upper lip, and all its knowledge and wisdom disappear at once. The pit in the upper lip is a result of this stroke, which is also the cause why children cry, when they are born."

Clearly children do inherit some of the results of the sins of their parents in diseased bodies: it may be possible, that they inherit the results of their own sins in a former existence. Those eyes which once glanced lustfully, cruelly, or enviously, are now closed to the outer world. This is a mere hypothesis, but it is right to consider it. There is nothing inconsistent with, or opposed to, revealed religion in the idea, that to an individual soul the opportunity should be given of repeated incarnations. Gradually, in this way, defects of character of individual souls would be subdued, and they would be more fit for the Kingdom of Heaven. Had the very root-conception of the matter been wrong, and fundamentally wicked, our Lord would have condemned it. Notoriously by Mosaic Law the sins of the parents were deemed to be visited on the children: one portion of the argument of the Pharisees was sound, though contrary to elementary modern ideas of justice, and condemned by Ezekiel (cap. xviii) at the time of the Captivity: if the other portion had been wickedly wrong, or ridiculous, our Lord would scarcely have failed to condemn it, as He never spared those who tempted Him by improper questions.

If there had not existed among the Hebrews of that time an idea of the possibility of a soul returning to a new body after an interval of more or less length, how is it that our Lord was identified as Elijah, or one of the Prophets, since whose death centuries had passed? and, still more markedly, what could have induced Herod to suppose that Jesus was identical with

John the Baptist, whom he, a short time before, had himself beheaded?

In truth, Nature exhibits unlimited examples of decay in the works of creation, and regeneration : there may be a channel of compensation for unmerited (as far as human eye can see) suffering, and a vengeance taken upon neglected opportunities, abused privileges, and intolerable tyranny of lustful power.

It may be part of the Divine discipline (as it was, that the soul of Dives in torments should look across an abyss, and see the soul of Lazarus in bliss) to suffer such sinning souls to assume in a second birth the very reverse of their previous lot, with the possibility of atoning for their gross sins.

The Apocalyptic writings betray the yearning of the heart of man to know something of the future. The Revelation of John has not helped us much to pierce the veil : at any rate in the nineteenth century after Christ we know with certainty as little as was known in the first, but the world has lasted long enough to prove, that Paul's anticipations of the early coming of Christ were vague and unsupported by fact. Millions have passed away to their unknown home ; but the Lord has delayed His coming, notwithstanding that wickedness does abound.

I approach with reverent reserve the miracle of our Lord, by which an evil spirit passed out of a man, and at its own petition entered the bodies of a herd of swine ; that is to say, it subdivided itself by the occupation of many bodies of the herd, while, although consisting of as many individualities as a Roman legion, it had dwelt in one human frame. This is one of the difficult portions of the New Testament. It does not necessarily follow that the population of Gadara were Hebrews : the presumption based on geography, and the fact that they kept herds of swine, which were unclean to the Hebrew, is, that they were not. In their Pagan minds they had conceived the idea that malignant demons could take possession of the bodies of living men and impel them to frantic movements. At any rate, this story also is based on the existence of an idea at that time prevalent in Syria, that souls and spirits could migrate from one mortal tenement to another. The very notion of such a thing in modern times would be rejected without argument : not the miracle, but the human circumstances, which preceded and followed the miracle.

The references in the late work called "Zohur" to the idea of Metempsychosis, are collected by Gratz ("History of the Jews," Vol. iv). We get some clue to the thoughts of the Hebrews on this subject from the following quotations from Josephus, whose date and means of information are so well known.



I. ("Antiquities of the Jews," Book XVIII, cap. i, § 3.) "The Pharisees believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards and punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have *power to revive and live again*: on account of which doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people."

II. ("Wars of the Jews," Book II, cap. viii, § 14.) "The Pharisees say that all souls are incorruptible, but that the *souls of good men only are removed into other bodies*, but that the Souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. The Sadducees take away the belief of the immortal duration of the Soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades."

III. ("Wars of the Jews," Book III, cap. viii, § 5.) "Do not you know, that those who depart out of this life according to the law of nature, and pay that debt which was received from God, when He that lent it is pleased to require it back again, enjoy eternal fame: that their homes and their posterity are sure, that their souls are pure and obedient, and obtain a most holy place in Heaven, whence, in the revolution of ages, they *are again sent into pure bodies*; while the souls of those who have acted madly against themselves, are received by the darkest place in Hades."

In an article by Dr. Ginsburg, in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Biography," Vol. I, p. 361, word "Kabbalah," we read as follows:

"It is an absolute condition of the soul to return to the Infinite Source from which it emanated, after developing, on earth, the perfections the germs whereof are implanted in it. If the soul, after assuming a human body, and its *first* sojourn on earth, fails to acquire that experience for which it descends from Heaven, and becomes contaminated by sin, it *must re-inhabit a body again and again*, until it is able to ascend in a purified state. This transmigration, however, is restricted to three times. If two souls on their residence in human bodies are still too weak to acquire the necessary experience, they are united and *sent into one body*, in order that, by their combined efforts, they may be able to learn that which they were too feeble to effect separately."

Paul, in Romans, ix, II, writes: "For the children *being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil*," to justify the doctrine of Election.

#### D. The Manichean.

The Manicheans held the doctrine in various forms, as detailed in "Acta Martyrum," 1748 A.D. (Syriac and Latin):

it is stated at page 203, that they supposed that the souls of men entered ants. Neander, in his *Church History*, II, 218, alluded to it.

*E. The Mahometan.*

We should scarcely have expected to find traces of the idea in a religion so modern, so universal, and so free from the old-world ideas, as the Mahometan; yet they are found. Arabian writers allude to three forms of transmigration. The shifting of souls into green birds was recognized (Baidawi, Commentary on "Súra," III, 165) as coming near to this idea.

A scholarly friend has helped me to the following quatrain from Omar Khaiyyam :

آن باده که قابل صورهاست بذات  
گاه حیون میشود و گاه نبات  
ناظر نبری که نیست گردد هیات  
موصوف بدانست اگر نیست صفات

"That essence, which is inherently fit for form,

"Sometimes is an animal, and sometimes a plant :

"Think not that form becomes non-existent ;

"It is known as existing, although there may not be any shape."

I am indebted to my friend, Professor Edward G. Browne, of Pembroke College, Cambridge, so well known for his Mahometan studies, for the following important communication :

"The question as to the prevalence of the doctrine of Transmigration of Souls in Mahometan countries is a difficult, but very interesting one. Although the belief appears to be held, and to have been held, by many sects in Islám, especially the ultra-Shi'ite sects of Persia, it is a fact that they mostly repudiate it formally, *i. e.*, they will not admit that they hold the *tanásukh-i-arwáh* (تذاسخ ارواح), which is the technical term in Arabic for this doctrine. But they believe in what they call the '*Rij at*' (رجعت) or 'Return,' which is to us almost undistinguishable. The Bábí, for instance, speak of the return in this 'Manifestation,' or dispensation, of the saints and sinners of former dispensations. I saw at Kirmán, in Persia, a Bábí woman, who believed herself to be a 'return' of Kurratu'l-'Ayn, the martyr-poetess. And I have cited in my Translation of the *New History* of the Báb (Cambridge, 1893, pp. 334-338 and 357) instances of this belief, especially one (p. 338) where a *dog* is declared by a Bábí saint to be the 'return' of a certain unbeliever. These heterodox sects generally fight shy of admitting that they hold the doctrine of



*Metempsychosis* under its ordinary name, *tandasukh*, but, under the name of *rij'at*, hold a doctrine, which it seems impossible to distinguish therefrom. In the next number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* I hope that a paper will appear, which I have written on a little-known sect called the *Hurúfí*, which flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of our era in Persia and Turkey, in which paper I discuss this matter more or less. In Mahometan philosophical works, even modern ones, such as the *Asrár-i-Hikam* of Háji Mullá Hádi of Sabzawár, a chapter is generally consecrated to the formal refutation of the doctrine, which is therefore recognized as existing in Mahometan countries."

"My impression is, that nearly all the extreme Shi'ite sects, which had their origin in Persia, really hold the doctrine. There are some well-known lines in the *Masnavi*, which look like an enunciation of the doctrine, though orthodox Mahometans try to explain them away. They run :"

"I died from the Mineral, and became a Plant : I died from the Plant, and reappeared as an Animal."

"I died from the animal state, and became a man : why, then, should I fear ? when did I ever grow less by dying ?"

"Next time I shall die from humanity, that I may clothe myself in wings with the Angels."

"Beyond the Angels, too, must I rise : *all things shall perish save His Face !*"

"This is the general sense of the lines, and there is a very similar passage in Ibn Yámín. I have discussed the way, in which they interpret the doctrine in my 'Year amongst the Persians.'"

#### F. Hindu.

The Hindu Sages, with their speculative Genius, will find a cause for everything, or at least invent one. How came the necessity of transmigration into existence ? They had the undoubted fact that men did die, and the strong conviction that the Soul did not die. I quote the following from the Satapatha-Bráhmaṇa :

- "The gods live constantly in fear of Death,
- "The mighty Ender, so with tedious rites
- "They worshipped, and repeated Sacrifice,
- "Till they became Immortal. Then the Ender
- "Said to the gods : 'As ye have made yourselves
- "Imperishable, so will men endeavour
- "To free themselves from me : what portion, then,
- "Shall I possess in man ?' The gods replied :
- "Henceforth no being shall become Immortal
- "In his own body : this his mortal frame

"Shalt thou still seize : this shall remain thine own,  
 "This shall become perpetually thy food ;  
 "And even if he, through religious acts,  
 "Henceforth attains to Immortality,  
 "Shall first present his body, Death, to thee."

( "Indian Wisdom," p. 34.)

Transmigration became the terrible nightmare of Indian metapysicians : all their efforts were directed to getting rid of this oppressive scare. As the embodied soul, says the Bhágavad Gíta, moves swiftly on through boyhood, youth, and age, so will it pass through other forms hereafter. The one engrossing problem is : How is a man to break this iron chain of repeated existences ? how is he to shake off all personality ? how is he to return to complete absorption (*sayujga*) into pure unconscious Spirit ? or, failing this, is he to work his way through successive births to any of the three inferior conditions of bliss ?

(1) Living in the same sphere with the personal God (Salokya).

(2) Close proximity to that God (Samípya).

(3) Assimilation to the likeness of that God (Sarupya).

Professor Rhys Davids, in his "Hibbert Lectures," p. 80, expresses his opinion that the Arians, when they entered India from the North-West, did not bring the idea of Metempsychosis with them. It is not mentioned in the Veda. In one of the earlier Upanishads, 600, B. C., we read : "Those, whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain some good birth, birth as a Bráhmāna, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya."

"In the Kaushítaki Bráhmāna Upanishad we read : "All who depart from this world, go to the Moon : in the dark fortnight the Moon sends them forth into new births : they are born either as a worm, or a grasshopper, or a fish, or a bird, or a lion, or a boar, or a serpent, or a tiger, or a man, or some animal, according to their deeds and their knowledge."

It is possible that the Aryan immigrants, long after their entry into India, derived the idea from the Non-Aryan occupants of the Gangetic Valley whom they found in possession on their arrival.

The Hindu, being essentially of a more dreamy temperament, gives evidence of this idea of the soul having recollection of something that has happened in a previous state of existence. That a man should, in his new birth, recollect the circumstances of his previous incarnation, is a common feature in legends ; but Manu (IV, 148) specially notices this capacity as the reward of a self-denying and pious life. I quote a poetical translation from a passage in the Vishnu Purána, which I made at Banda, in North India, as far back as 1853 :



## THE HINDU NOTION OF A FUTURE STATE.

[*From the Sanskrit.*]

MAITREYA (the Pupil).

- " Parásura, you've told me  
 " All that I wished to hear,  
 " How out of chaos sprang this  
 " God-made hemisphere.  
 " How zone on zone, and sphere on sphere,  
 " In ever-varying forms,  
 " The wondrous egg of Brahma  
 " With living creatures swarms.  
 " All great and small, all small and great,  
 " On their own acts depend :  
 " All their terrestrial vanities  
 " In punishment must end.  
 " Released from Yáma, they are born  
 " As men, as beasts, again ;  
 " And thus in countless circles still  
 " Revolving still remain.  
 " Tell me, oh ! tell me what I ask,  
 " What you alone can tell :  
 " By what acts only mortal men  
 " Can free themselves from Hell ? "

PARASURA (the Teacher).

- " Listen, Maitréya, best of men ;  
 " The question you have brought  
 " Was once by royal Nákula  
 " Of aged Bhisma sought.  
 " And thus the hoary sage replied :  
 " Listen, my Prince, this tale  
 " A Brahman guest once told me  
 " From far Kalinga's vale.  
 " He from an ancient Múni too  
 " The wondrous secret gained,  
 " In whose clear mind of former births  
 " The memory remained.  
 " Never before had human ear  
 " The tale mysterious heard :  
 " Such as it was I tell it you,  
 " Repeating word for word.  
 " As from the coil of mortal birth  
 " Released the Múni lay,  
 " He heard the awful King of Death  
 " Thus to his menials say :

- " Touch not, I charge thee, anyone,  
" Whom Vishnú has led loose :  
" On Madhu-súdan's followers  
" Cast not the fatal noose.  
" Brahma appointed me to rule  
" Poor erring mortals' fate,  
" Of evil and uncertain good  
" The balance regulate.  
" But he who chooses Vishnú  
" As spiritual guide,  
" Slave of a mightier lord than me,  
" Can spurn me in my pride.  
" As gold is of one substance still,  
" Assume what form it can,  
" So Vishnu is the selfsame power  
" As beast, as God, or Man.  
" And as the drops of watery spray,  
" Raised by the wind on high,  
" Sinks slowly down again to earth  
" When calm pervades the sky,  
" So particles of source dīvine  
" Created forms contain :  
" When that disturbance is composed,  
" They reunite again.  
" But tell us, Master, they replied,  
" How shall thy slaves descry  
" Those who with heart and soul upon  
" The mighty Lord rely ?  
" Oh ! they are those, who truly love  
" Their neighbours, them you'll know,  
" Who never from their duty swerve,  
" And would not hurt their foe  
" Whose hearts are undefiled  
" By soil of Kali's age,  
" Who let not others' hoarded wealth  
" Their envious thoughts engage.  
" No more can Vishnu there abide,  
" Where evil passions sway,  
" Than glowing heat of fire reside  
" In the moon's cooling ray.  
" But those who covet others' wealth,  
" Whose hearts are hard in sin,  
" And those whose low degraded souls  
" Pride rampant reigns within.



“Whoever with the wicked sit,  
 “And daily frauds prepare,  
 “Who duties to their friends forget ;  
 “Vishnu has nothing there.  
 “Such were the orders that the King  
 “Of Hell his servant gave :  
 “For Vishnu his true followers  
 “From death itself can save.”

I now quote from the well-known play of “Sakuntala,” by Kalidása. I give the English translation, and then the original :  
 “When a being, in other respects happy, becomes conscious of  
 “an ardent longing on seeing charming objects and hearing  
 “sweet sounds, then in all probability, without being aware of it,  
 ‘he remembers in his mind the friendships of former births  
 “firmly rooted in his heart.

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निश्चय्य शब्दान्

पर्युत्सुकीभवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः

तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं

भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरमौहृदानि

Even in Manu’s time it was an accepted dogma, that the souls of men, popularly regarded as emanations from the Deity, might descend into the bodies of animals and trees, or rise to those of higher beings. It was therefore an easy expansion of such a doctrine to imagine the “Divine Soul” itself as passing through various stages of incarnation for the delivery of the world from the effect of evil and sin, and for the maintenance of order in the whole cycle of Creation. (“Indian Wisdom,” p. 336.)

Thus began the great series of the ten Avatára, or the Deity born as an animal, or a man, for the benefit of mankind :

Three times as animals.

Once as half man and half animal.

Five times as man.

Once still to come, when the world has become wholly depraved, seated on a white horse in the skies, with a drawn sword in his hand.

Manu, the great codifier of existing oral Law, occupying a position analogous to Confucius, Zoroaster, and Moses, writes (XII, iii. 40, 54, 55) :

“An act, either mental, verbal, or corporeal (thoughts, words or deeds), bears good or evil fruit. The various transmigrations of men through the highest, middle, and lowest stages,

"are produced by acts." This triple order implies the passage of the soul through (1) Deities, (2) men, (3) animals, or (4) plants, according to the dominance of one or other of the three Guna: (1) Goodness, (2) Passion, (3) Darkness: and each of these three degrees has three sub-degrees. Those who have committed great crimes, pass through terrible hells for a long series of years, and then pass through various bodies. A Brahman-killer's soul enters the body of a boar, or an ass: the violator of the bed of a guru migrates a hundred times into the form of grasses, shrubs, plants, etc.

It is clear from this that, as in all religious conceptions, the purest and most modern, the priesthood had their own way, and maintained their authority of terrorism of the most debased kind over an abject and ignorant community. The hell-fire sermon is not a new, or a local, invention.

#### G. *The Buddhist.*

I quote the words of Gilbert's "Mikado:" "Buddhism makes the punishment or reward fit the crime or merit. A niggard is reborn either in a state of suffering, or, if into mankind again, into a state of abject poverty. A liberal man is reborn rich. A man who takes away life, is reborn with a short span of life. One who abstains from taking life, is reborn with a long span."

Thus the Soul has to bear the consequences of its own acts only. It is tossed hither and thither at the mercy of a force set in *motion by itself alone*, but which can never be guarded against, because its operation depends on past actions wholly beyond control and even unremembered. Even great genius, and congenital excellence, are not natural gifts, τὰ ἐνὶ ἡμῶν ἔσθ' ὁ θεός, but the result of habits formed, and powers developed, through a succession of previous existences. So, again, sufferings of all kind, and moral depravity, are simply the consequence of acts done by each soul of its own free will in former bodies, which acts exert upon that soul an irresistible power, called very significantly *Adrista*, because felt and not seen. ("Indian Wisdom," pp. 68, 69.)

When the chief Lama of Tibet dies, it is presumed that his soul has passed into some body, and that body must be looked for, and placed on the throne of the deceased. A search is made for a body with certain marks, which are presumed to indicate the presence of the late Lama, and, when found, he is hailed as successor. The same thing happened when the sacred bull died in Egypt: the Priests had to look out for another bull, with marks indicating its fitness. The mode of election of the Pope of the Romish Church is something in the same way, but meaner motives there exercise their influence.



In the "Cariya Pitaka" of the Páli Sacred Books the principle is laid down, that the qualifications necessary for making a Buddha cannot be acquired during, and do not depend on the action of, one life only, but are the last result of many deeds *performed through a long series of consecutive lives.*

Although the idea that every man had passed through many existences before his birth on earth, and will pass through many more after his death, was distinctly borrowed from Hindu writers, yet the honour of first and solely employing the stories of previous births for educational purposes, and to inculcate great lessons of morality, must be attributed to Buddha and his followers. This fact was always known to the limited circle of those who cared for this branch of science; but in 1895 the first volume of a work was published by the Cambridge University Press which introduces the subject to the general public. The volume is entitled "The Játaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births," translated from the Páli by various hands, under the Editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge.

Now unquestionably the date of these Stories can be carried back to the date of the Council of Vesáli, 380 B.C.: this is important, as it places them anterior to, and independent of, any Christian influence. The art of alphabetic writing no doubt existed in India at that period, as testified by the Rock Inscriptions of Asóka; so that date, if arrived at on literary grounds, can be accepted on palaeographic grounds; but a material corroboration has also been supplied by the sculptures on the carvings of the railing of the shrines of Sanchi, Amara vati, and Bharhut, where the titles of the Játaka are clearly inscribed on some of the carvings, and the date of the erection of these shrines has been arrived at on independent grounds. And a remarkable confirmation is found in the Travels of Fah Hian, who, when he visited Ceylon, 400 A.D., saw representations of the 500 bodily forms assumed by Buddha in his successive births, and these legends were habitually made use of to illustrate the teaching of Buddhist doctrine.

It is quite uncertain when they were collected into a systematic volume like the present Játaka: no doubt they were first orally delivered from time to time; then gradually they were copied into one volume. Probably the Christian New Testament came together in the same manner. They are all in the Pali Language. The first volume of the Edition contains 150 Birth Stories, partly prose, and partly verse; and each consists of (1) a Preface, which is the story of the Present, detailing how it happened that Buddha was led to tell the story; (2) the story of the birth; (3) a short Summary, in which Buddha identifies the actions, for to Buddha is attributed the power claimed by

Pythagoras of remembering on a gigantic scale all the transactions of his previous existence. Every story is illustrated by one or more poetic couplets or Gatha, uttered by Buddha, to point the moral of the tale. The language of the Gatha is much more archaic than that of the story, and some might think that they were the kernel of the story; however, in the opinion of others the Language of the Stories may indeed be later, but they are merely the reduction into writing of materials handed down orally from the earliest period: the Stories were necessarily anterior to the Gatha, though not necessarily in the same words.

Professor Fausböll, of Copenhagen, is the sole Editor of the Páli Text, five volumes of which have appeared. The translation is conducted by a band of friends, who employ a uniformity of technical terms and transliteration, and certain common principles of translation.

But it is not the first attempt; for the first volume is dedicated by the author to Professor Rhys Davids, his friend and preceptor, and in the Preface we learn that in 1880 the Professor published one volume containing the "Nidhána-Katha," or complete History of Buddha, both before and during his last birth, and 40 stories; his work ceased there, and it has been since taken up by his friends and pupils. The 40 stories of the earlier volume appear retranslated in the later work as the first 40 of the 150, which it contains.

But the Introduction to Professor Rhys David's work above alluded to, entitled "Buddhist Birth Stories," in Trübner's Series, is well worth noticing: it occupies pp. i-lxxxvii of the volume.

He calls attention to the fact that the fairy-tales, parables, fables, riddles, and comic and moral stories, of the Buddhist Collection bear a striking resemblance to similar ones current in West Asia, or Europe. Now, in many instances, this resemblance is due to the fact that they were borrowed from the Buddhist ones. A second fact is that these stories contain the oldest, most complete, and most important, collection of folklore extant. I merely mention these facts; but they have no relation to the subject-matter of this essay, which is confined to the consideration of the great problem of the Transmigration of Souls, and the power to recollect the events of previous lives, indicating a continuity of thought from one life to another. The chief Collections of Stories of this kind, which grew out of this fundamental source, are:

- Játaka-mala (in Sanskrit),
- Pancha-Tantra, alias Hitopadesha (in Sanskrit),
- Kalilag and Damanag (in Syriac),
- Kalilut and Damanat (in Arabic),



"Arabian Nights" (in Arabic),  
 Aesop's Fables (in Greek),  
 Phaedrus (in Latin),

and the great crop of modern European folklore, and beast-stories.

Professor Rhys Davids gives us, in his Preface, the accepted theory as to the mode in which the Páli Játaka Books came into existence. Their origin is due to "the Religious Faith of the Early Indian Buddhists, who not only repeated a number of fables, parables, and stories, ascribed to the Buddha, but gave them a peculiar sacredness and special religious significance by identifying the best character in each with the Buddha himself in some previous birth." The parables and fables, for they were no more, became their Játaka, a word invented to distinguish the stories thus sanctified. We find the word in the inscription of the Buddhist tope at Bharhut, and it clearly must have been a long recognized term to be thus honoured. Gradually came the time for collecting the scattered Játaka into a volume, and this probably took place before the Council of Vesáli, 380 B.C. A tradition as to the time and occasion at or on which they were uttered, may have given rise to the earliest Introductory Story. They were written in the Páli language, carried to Ceylon about 200 B.C., and, with the exception of the verses at the close of each, translated into Sinhalese. About the fifth century A.D. an unknown Author retranslated them into Páli, and compiled the volume now translated into English.

It is a remarkable and incontestable fact, that Buddha taught by *Parables*; but no *Miracles* are imputed to him.

Professor Rhys Davids, at page lxxv of his Preface and in his Hibbert Lectures," pp. 88-109, lays stress on the real meaning of Transmigration to the Buddhist. It is not the passage of a soul from one body to another, for the Buddhists do not admit of the existence of a soul, or of a God. The doctrine is somewhat intricate, and is fully explained in the "Manual of Buddhism" by the same author, pp. 99-106; and, perhaps, what does take place, may better be described as "Transmigration of *Character*," for it is entirely independent of the idea of the existence within each body of a distinct soul, ghost, or spirit. The Bodhisat is not supposed to have a soul which, on the death of one body, is transferred to another, but to be the inheritor of the *Karma*, or *Character*, acquired by previous Bodhisats.

The insight and goodness, the moral and intellectual perfection, which constitute Buddhahood, could not, according to the Buddhist theory, be acquired in one lifetime. They were the accumulated result of the continued effort of many generations

of successive Bodhisats. The only thing which continues to exist when a man dies, is his Karma, the result of his words, thoughts and deeds, literally his "doings;" and the curious idea, that the result is concentrated in some new individual, is due to the older idea of Soul.

Professor Rhys Davids, at p. 114 of his "Hibbert Lectures," 1881, sums up the Philosophy of the idea as follows:

"Predestination is the logical expression, from the Monotheistic point of view, of the weight of the Universe arrayed against the individual. Pre-existence, or that part of the Transmigration of Karma, which is insisted upon in the early Buddhism, is an ethical meeting of the same difficulty.

"The fact, underlying all these theories, is acknowledged to be a very real one: the history of an individual does not begin with his birth. He has been endless generations in making, and he cannot sever himself from his surroundings.

\* \* \* \* \*

"A great American writer says, that it was a poetic attempt to lift this mountain of Fate, when the Hindu said: 'Fate is nothing but the deeds committed in a previous existence.' Schelling writes: 'There is in every man a certain feeling, that he has been what he is from all eternity.' We may put a newer and deeper meaning into the words of the poet:

"Our deeds follow us from afar,  
And what we have been makes us what we are."

### 3. THE MODERN ASPECT.

It is no longer a question of Religious Dogma, or Philosophy, but a mere sentimental, or intellectual, mystery; yet somehow or other it exists, and there is more in it than appears at first sight. The Poets throw around it a halo of unreality. I have gathered the following thoughts either in print or conversation:

"The Soul sojourning in the earthly body has been likened to a current of air drafted through an Aeolian harp, and passing on again into the great air of Heaven, but for ever resounding an individual chord. So some portion of the Eternal Soul of the Universe, dwelling for a while in an earthly body, takes identity, and, passing onward, joins once more the Universal Soul, but is not absorbed into it, so as to lose absolutely its own identity."

Let me quote Wordsworth's celebrated Ode on the "Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early childhood." The idea of Metempsychosis underlies the whole Poem.

"The sunshine is a glorious birth;

"But yet I know, where'er I go,

"That there hath passed away a glory from the Earth.

\* \* \* \* \*



" But there's a tree, of many, one,  
 " A single Field, which I have looked upon,  
 " Both of them speak of something that is gone :  
     " The Pansy at my feet  
     " Doth the same tale repeat :  
 " Whither is fled the visionary gleam ?  
 " Where is it now, the glory and the dream ?  
 " Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :  
 " The Soul, that rises with us, our Life's Star,  
     " Hath had elsewhere its setting,  
     " And cometh from afar :  
     " Not in entire forgetfulness,  
     " And not in utter nakedness,  
 " But trailing clouds of Glory do we come  
     " From God, who is our Home :  
 " Heaven lies about us in our infancy !  
 " Shades of the prison-house begin to close  
     " Upon the growing Boy,  
 " But He beholds the Light, and whence it flows,  
     " He sees it in his joy.  
 \*       \*       \*       \*       \*  
 " Earth fills her lap with pleasures of her own.  
 \*       \*       \*       \*       \*  
     " And no unworthy aim,  
     " The homely Nurse doth all she can  
 " To make her Foster-child, her Inmate Man,  
     " Forget the Glories he hath known,  
 " And that Imperial Palace whence he came.  
 \*       \*       \*       \*       \*  
     " But for those first affections,  
     " Those shadowy recollections,  
     " Which, be they what they may,  
 " Are yet the fountain-light of all our day . . . .  
 \*       \*       \*       \*       \*  
 " Our Souls have sight of that Immortal Sea,  
     " Which brought us hither,  
     " Can in a moment travel thither."

I follow with a question from Tennyson's " Two Voices : "

" It may be that no life is found,  
 " Which only to one engine bound  
 " Falls off, but cycles always round.

## THE PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT OF THE

" As old mythologies relate,  
" Some draught of Lethe might await  
" The slipping through from state to state.  
" As here we find in trances men  
" Forget the dream, that happens then,  
" Until they fall in trance again,  
" So might we, if our state were such,  
" As one before, remember much,  
" For those two likes might meet and touch.  
" But, if I lapsed from nobler place,  
" Some legend of a fallen race  
" Alone might hint of my disgrace ;  
" Some vague emotion of delight  
" In gazing up an Alpine height,  
" Some yearning toward the lamps of night.  
" Or, if through lower lives I came,  
" Tho' all experience past became  
" Consolidate in mind and frame,  
" I might forget my weaker lot,  
" For is not our first year forgot ?  
" The haunts of memory echo not.  
" Much more, if first I floated free,  
" As naked essence, must I be  
" Incompetent of memory :  
" For memory dealing but with time,  
" And he with matter, could she climb  
" Beyond her own material prime ;  
" Moreover, something is or seems,  
" That touches me with mystic gleams  
" Like glimpses of forgotten dreams :  
" Of something felt like something here,  
" Of something done, I know not where,  
" Such as no language may declare."

This will find an echo in the Souls of many. Do we not seem, in our musing hours, to have heard something long before, to have thought some thought, to have uttered some word,



to have seen some landscape, in a previous existence, or under different circumstances? This happens to fresh young minds oftener than to the jaded intellects of those in middle life or old age. Have we not sometimes felt that we have fallen from a higher intellectual and spiritual age somewhere, that we understood things better once which seem now a puzzle? Of course, dreams develop these feelings, especially day-dreams, where the direction of the thoughts is guided by the will, which is not in the torpor of sleep; and sweet music helps it.

In Charles Dickens's "Dombey and Son," p. 210 of the original Edition, we come unexpectedly on the following words: "An undeveloped recollection of a previous state of existence."

There is a ring of pathos in the lines by that charming writer George Eliot.

" Oh may I join the choir invisible  
 " Of those immortal dead, *who live again*  
 " *In minds made better by their presence* : live  
 " In pulses stirred to generosity,  
 " In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn  
 " For miserable aims that end in self.  
 " In thoughts sublime that pierce the night-like stars,  
 " And with their mild persistence urge men's search  
 " To vaster issues . . . . .  
 " This is life to come."

Professor Rhys Davids admits that there is some analogy between this beautiful sentiment of the modern Positivist and the Buddhist doctrine of Karma; but the modern poet is thinking of the future, the ancient prophet dwells on the past.

In Archbishop Trench's "Day of Death" occur the following lines:

" Or the Soul long strives in vain  
 " To escape with toil and pain,  
 " From its half-divided chain : "

which I, fifty-five years ago, at Naples, rendered into monkish Latin :

" An se demum cuiâ plena  
 " Expedibit multâ poenâ  
 " Semiruptâ Mens catenâ ? "

We recollect the Emperor Hadrian's address to his Soul :

" Animula vagula blandula,  
 " Hospes comesque corporis,  
 " Quos nunc abibis in locos ?

" Pallidula rigida nudula,

" Nec, ut ante, dabis jocos : "

rendered so nobly by the Poet Pope :

" Poor little pretty fluttering thing,

" Must we no longer live together ?

" And dost thou prune thy timid wing,

" And take thy flight, thou knowest not whither ? "

I finally quote one living Poet, Mr. Lecky :

" So in our dreams some glimpse appears,

" Though soon it fades again,

" How other lands, or times, or spheres,

" Might make us other men.

" Now half our being lies in trance,

" Nor joy, nor sorrow, brings,

" Unless the hand of circumstance

" Can touch the latent strings.

" We know not fully what we are,

" Still less what we might be,

" But hear *faint voices from the far,*

" *Dim lands beyond the sea !*"

Some thoughts rise in my mind. Can it be, that such a divine creation as a Soul can be used only for one brief life, perhaps a very brief one indeed of a few summers, perhaps the tenant of a human form unworthy of it, owing to want of culture, or absence of virtue ?

" Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid

" Some Soul once pregnant with celestial fire :

" Hands that the rod of Empire might have swayed,

" Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre."

GRAY'S *Elegy*.

Would not a soul be strengthened for the daily combat of life by undergoing different conditions of its poor mortal place of temporary habitation, different environments of the mortal coil, different experiences of human vicissitudes ? On the other hand, would not a soul, having left a pure and holy tenement, be defiled and degraded by contact with some base human embodiment of carnality, vice, and degradation, which the Holy Spirit which deigns to dwell with man, has abandoned in despair and anger ?

What becomes of the accumulated millions of souls, if, after the accomplishment of one brief term of service, they are never employed again ? Do they fade like the leaves of the forest in Autumn, having done what they were created to do ? What is the meaning of absorption into the Divine Essence, or,



as the Christian Minister fondly puts it, "being with Christ?" The whole subject is a mystery.

What is the Soul (Ψύχη, Psyché)? Can it die? Some say that it can, and quote the New Testament: "Fear Him who is able to destroy both Soul (Ψύχη) and Body (Σώμα) in Gehenna:"

It is vain to argue on such a subject: the intellect is finite, and the subject of this question is infinite.

But there is a third indwelling part of the "*Homo*," which appears before us: the Spirit (Πνεῦμα). This comes of God, and is God, and can certainly never die, and can certainly leave the body; but this lies outside the subject of this Essay, which is restricted to the opinions formed by men at different periods, and in different countries, and degrees of culture, as to the transmigration of the Soul (Ψύχη) from one body (Σώμα) to another.

Sometimes we come into contact with a young creature whose soul seems fresh from heaven and fit for Heaven. Having been blessed with the tenement of a docile body, the two entities, soul and body, move in unison: they ripen fast, and are soon removed. Sometimes we meet, or hear of, persons who seem devoid of soul altogether. Again, we come upon persons who seem to have inherited an evil soul: some are fierce and bitter in temperament, who, if they have not inherited these characteristics, are qualifying, at the next birth, to enter a tiger: some are gross and carnal, who are qualifying to pass into swine at the next opportunity.

Again, there are instances of mysterious attraction betwixt soul and soul (I do not allude to the attraction of carnal earthly love): there exists sometimes a wonderful feeling that creates a link between two souls, though they occupied their brief earthly span two or three centuries apart; yet there seems to be a mysterious union, the "*idem sentire de rebus Humanis et Divinis*." Has not some one unexpectedly come upon passages in some book which existed before his birth, but of which he never heard till lately, which reveal to him his own hidden thoughts, passing under review the mysterious problem of Self, the World, and God; suggesting solutions, long before revealed to him in his musings by day, or his waking hours by night? Still more wonderful is the solution of hard problems, which he has striven for in vain, sought for from his contemporaries without success, but are revealed to his astonished eyes in a book of the last century. There must surely be some affinity of that portion of us which is Divine, with that which existed, or exists in others. I do not ask for sensational common-form expressions of the ignorant formularist, whether Hindu, Buddhist, Mahometan, or Christian, who has not even thought

out the problem, but the reverential humble expressions of thought of one, who

"extra.

"Processit longè flammantia moenia mundi,

"Atque omme immensum peragravit mente animoque."

LUCRETIVS.

Then, clearly there are sins peculiar to the body, in which the enlightened Soul can take no pleasure, carnal appetites, low and evil desires, envy, hatred, and malice. A man's "better self" loathes such things, but has to endure them in an ill-assorted union. The great soul will not condescend to profit by the loss of his neighbour, will not sell its purity for gold, will not utter a lie even for its own advantage, is ready to sacrifice itself for the benefit of others, looks on the world around with a pitying eye, but is willing to continue in its mortal tenement, if it can benefit the poor and suffering. "Altruism," not "Egoism," is the Law of its Nature, following the example of Gautama Buddha, who was the first to propound the noble idea "of loving others better than one's self," and the precepts given five centuries later by One Greater than the Buddha. On the other hand, in a comparatively innocuous, quiescent, body, there are grievous sins of the soul, of which the body has no cognizance, such as denial of the Lord who bought us, worldliness, lust for power, such as Satan offered to the Lord at the Temptation, lust for wealth, such as that of the rich man in the Parable, whose soul in the midst of his enjoyments that very night was required.

It is necessary to draw one line absolutely : a soul is a soul, a body is a body ; the soul is an eternal entity, the body is a perishable atom : and in that last particular all creatures having life are on the same level. When the breath of life departs, the poor clay-tenement returns to dust. But the incidence of death was not written for the soul. Now we know, as a positive fact, that there is an ineffaceable division between the "genus *Homo*," and the rest of the animal-creation. The Sacred Books of every religion may not affirm it, but it is a fact, which is written in clear letters in the history of the world, that the intelligence of animals, such as the elephant, the horse, the dog, and the cat, though most worthy of note, is limited, and no degree of culture would carry it beyond certain limited boundaries, or prolong it from generation to generation ; while the intelligence of the "genus *Homo*" is unlimited : even now it is only in the course of development. Things are known to us at the close of the nineteenth century which were absolutely unknown, and undreamed of, at the close of the eighteenth century. To the "genus *Homo*" alone



have been conceded the two great congenital gifts of (1) Articulate Speech, (2) a Religious Instinct. Therefore transmigration of a soul into the body of an animal not calculated to be the tenement of a soul, is a thing impossible.

The gist of the matter is, that, in all speculations of men of the nineteenth century, and in all reverential communings with the soul as to its future destiny after its parting from the mortal tenement in which it is now included, there are but two alternatives:

A. "To be with Christ," in a mysterious, indefinable, state of existence, and yet non-existence : this is the fond vision of holy men. The reply to the inquirer is an illustration of "*Obscurum per obscurius*."

No one ever came back, and revealed the mystery beyond the tomb. The Old and New Testaments are silent. The sad lines of the late Poet Laureate come back to us :

"When Lazarus left his charnel cave,  
 "And home to Mary's house return'd,  
 "Was this demanded, if he yearn'd  
 "To hear her weeping by his grave ?  
 "Where wert thou, brother, those four days ?"  
 "There lives no record of reply,  
 "Which, telling what it is to die,  
 "Had surely added praise to praise.  
 "Behold a man raised up by Christ !  
 "The rest remaineth unreveal'd :  
 "He told it not ; or something seal'd  
 "The lips of that Evangelist."

TENNYSON : *In Memoriam*, xxxi.

B. To transmigrate into another individual body of the "genus *Homo*."

The theory of Purgatory is not only unscriptural, but a mere intellectual delusion. If sins are to be purged after death, it seems more reasonable that they should be purged under the same conditions as those in which they were committed in this mortal life : in practice it appears to be only a machinery for bringing money to the Priesthood.

My thoughts pass from the dying ejaculations of the great Roman Emperor, quoted above, who was denied the opportunity of knowing Christ, to the soul of the young man of our own time who had been chosen from his boyhood, had been consecrated in the bloom of his youth, to the service of his Master ; to whom the gift had been conceded of an ingenuous countenance, on which the word *Ἀγάπη*, not *Ἔρως*, was written ; from

whose lips flowed words that burn, the reflection of thought, that breathed ; whose life represented the simplicity, the holiness, the self-sacrifice, the high desire, the very Christ, whom he preached ; whose Soul, having found a mortal tenement worthy of the habitation of its Divine Essence, rejoiced in the discharge of holy duties, the daily something accomplished, something done. Many the poor sinning brother and sister who were by him brought to Christ on the dying bed in the hospital ; the happy soul of the teacher lending itself in deep sympathy, and pure aim, to the poor distracted, trembling, hopeless, soul of the unhappy sinner. No pride there ; but for God's Grace the soul of the saved one would have been in the same plight as the soul of the all but lost one ; for with God there is no προσωπολήψιε, and the poor human race are all on the same level, the certainty of condemnation but for the Saviour.

Him, the tenement of such a soul, a fever, acquired in his holy visiting of the sick, laid low, and the term of his days was accomplished ; there was no murmur on his part. He had done what he could, and filled up the little space for which he was ordained to glorify God ; the ministration of his Master only lasted three years ; was not that sufficient for him also ? The example of his death is even more precious than his life : he has his reward. Better to die thus.

“ ὃν ὁ Θεὸς φιλεῖ θνήσκει νέος.”

But for the poor Soul, for it there is no death : of it may be said :

“ It hoped that with the brave and strong

“ Its destined course might lie,

“ To toil amidst the busy throng,

“ With purpose pure and high.”

ANN BRONTE.

“ *Hei mihi ! quid feci ? unde lapsus sum ?* ”

It does not die like the poor clay-tenement ; it is still for ever with the Lord : in its deep humility it pleads nothing in its own favour, for it had only done its duty and is content. But still it pants for new opportunities to save souls ; it pines for re-embodiment in another weak vessel : it thinks of the hospital, fever-struck patient, with no fellow-Christian near to whisper words of repentance, pardon, and peace : it is ready : can we believe, that Aeons of unemployed happiness will satisfy the inexhaustible desire of the *Ψύχη* and *Πνεῦμα* to do their Master's work. Can idleness be bliss to a soul which during its short period of embodiment was in ceaseless holy activity, doing the Lord's work among his fellow-creatures ?

Another point of view is the comforting one, that, being allowed to tread the Earth again, a great unrepenting sinner



has a chance of escaping the awful penalties, whatever may be the correct rendering of the word αἰώνιον, "for a season, as in Philemon, 15, or "everlasting," "age-lasting," as in Matthew, xviii, 8. The idea that a life of a few summers, or of a few days, decides the fate of a poor soul for eternity, is too awful to be entertained. To what an extent the preponderant weight of a mere dogma of a man in the Middle Ages can influence good holy weak men, is evidenced by the two following stanzas in the "Day of Doom," by Michael Wigglesworth, which is still read in Christian New England. "Reprobate" (in the technical sense) Infants are, in his poem, summoned to judgment,

"Then to the Bar they all drew near  
 "Who died in infancy,  
 "And never had, or good or bad,  
 "Effected personally."

The little children cry out, pleading their innocence, but are rebuked as sinners ; every sin is a crime.

"A crime it is ; therefore in bliss,  
 "You may not hope to dwell ;  
 "But unto you I shall allow  
 "The easiest room in Hell."

Cases are frequent of men repenting in middle life, or in advanced years, and passing from death unto life, because the chance was given them. There is no limit to the mercies of God ; but justice must be combined with love. In India, fifty years ago, two very young officers were driving home from the regimental mess in a state of intoxication ; they had not counted twenty summers, and were still in the blind folly of youth, and had commenced a life of profligacy. Their vehicle was upset, and one was cast out dead ; the other was taken to the hospital with a compound fracture of both legs : there he lingered under the blessed influences of a Sister of the Hospital, an angel in the form of a woman, and eventually came out a changed man, lived a long life of holy benevolence, and then entered into his rest. Let us think of the poor lad the thread of whose life was snapped in the midst of his sins. "Nobody ever spoke to me," a poor dying lad once said to a kindly visitor in India, who came to soothe his last repentant hours. He had had previously no chance given him, no opportunity of recovering his self-control. Setting aside as impossible the idea of everlasting torture in such, or in any, case, perhaps in a new environment a better life might be spent : and the soul of the poor lad whose body perished while still in his teens, might have been blessed in a new incarnation with a fresh Revelation of Christ, and, if needs be,

suffer, but be patient and strong, and try to atone for past errors.

As long as the heart beats with Human affections, as long as the Soul gives birth to Divine aspirations, this wondrous speculation will be entertained.

“ Πῶς γενόμεν ; πόθεν εἰμί ; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον ; ἀπελθεῖν :

“ Πῶς δύναμαι τι μαθεῖν ἐπιστάμενος ;

“ Οὐδὲν ἐὼν γενόμεν· πάλιν ἔσσομαι, ὥς πάρος ἦα,

“ Οὐδέν, καὶ μηδέν, τῶν μερόπων τὸ γένος.”

*Anthologia Palatina*, viii, 118.

The poor vile body is indeed mortal ; but the Soul is immortal. Shall we not say with Walter Pater (“*Plato and Platonism*,” p. 64) : “The teaching of Pythagoras, like all the “graver utterances of primitive Greek Philosophy, is an instinct “of the human mind itself, and therefore a constant tradition “in human history, which will ever recur, fortifying this or “that soul, here or there, in a part at least of that old sanguine “assurance about itself?”

To many, much that has been written in this my last Chapter may appear as a dream, and it may please those who are narrow-minded and incapable of reflection on the history of the past, and unsusceptible of reverential thought as to the future, to describe Chapters I and II as “the teaching of Satan,” which is the general description in certain religious and missionary circles of the religious convictions of the elder world. Be it so ! “*Sursum corda*.”

November, 1897.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL. D.



#### ART. IV.—THE PORTUGUESE EAST INDIANS OF MALABAR.

IN the East Indians of Malabar Portugal has left behind her a most interesting and fairly well-preserved relic of her once powerful connexion with the Orient. These people are to be met with almost exclusively in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. They are a distinct class from the Goanese Christians, or the East Indians of Bombay, or even the occupants of the *kintals* of Calcutta and the vile *parcherris* of Madras. To outsiders they are more vulgarly known as "Coasters"—a title that is intended to be opprobrious. This apart, the fitness of the term "East Indian" will be acknowledged when we remember the circumstances under which the valiant hero of the *Lusiadas* found his way to the land of the *Malavares*.

History tells us that the early Portuguese settlers began Christianising the natives of the West Coast as far back as the fourteenth century. Francis Xavier was the first great Apostle who sowed the seeds of proselytisation. It is to be presumed that the Lusitanian colonists married into the neoteric Christian community and thus created the distinct race we are now treating of. To-day, however, the commonly-used term "Portuguese East Indians" is a misnomer, for there are very few families who can honestly claim that their earliest ancestors—paternal at least—were pure Europeans. It was only to be expected that, as the hold of Portugal on Malabar slackened, the new community would come to be more and more swayed by purely native influences, and that the links that bound them to a mother-country which they had never seen would, one by one, be snapped away. For all this, it is true, and extraordinarily true, that one of the national endowments of Portugal is that she should leave almost ineffaceable traces behind her in distant lands which she had colonised, and from which stress of circumstances later on forced her to withdraw. In Malabar, we find, the remaining links which now bind the East Indians to Portugal are their religion, their language and their names. You will find the most aristocratic patronymics of Portugal borne by swarthy cobblers and chicken-breasted tailors, who speak a *patois* which is a quaint mixture of Portuguese and certain Dravidian languages. True, they call it Portuguese; but it is as little like that noble language as the French of the Slave Creoles is like the tongue of Hugo or Beranger, or the Italian that Dante heard at the mouth of Hell is like "the Roman tongue" in a Tuscan mouth.

There is neither proper construction, nor inflection, nor the

least attempt at grammatical precision in this bastard language. It is an unwritten language, and can be described only as the natural result of the efforts of an ignorant community to leave their own legitimate vehicle of expression in the background and take up the strange language of a foreign and refined civilisation. Nevertheless, this Indo-Portuguese jargon serves the purpose of those who use it almost as perfectly as Konkani does that of the Christian inhabitants of Canara, or their curious Hindustani dialect that of the Brinjari gypsies. Possessing no dictionary or vocabulary to guide them, wanting in regularly-constituted educational institutions for the teaching of the language, the East Indians still contrive to keep their *patois* alive, and, from generation to generation, the spoken language is passed on, with its quaint idioms, with its pretty lyrics and its fairly comprehensive unwritten vocabulary. A fair proportion of the words are the same as are used in true Portuguese; but in a great many cases the pronunciation, etc., have undergone such a change that the European Portuguese scholar would find it difficult to understand exactly what is meant. The word for "bird" in true Portuguese is *passaro*; it has been transformed by the East Indian into *pastri*; and while *acontecen* or *sucedem* would be the correct word for "happen," in Malabar, they use only the quaint substitute *fica*. In true Portuguese one would say *O'qui acontecen?* meaning, "What has happened?" The Indo-Portuguese rendering is—*Qui ja fica? Elle vem* (he is coming) and *elle ja esta* (he has come) degenerate miserably indeed into *elle ta vi* and *elle ja vi*. Here, we find a striking difference between the true language and its illegitimate offspring. Tense in the latter is indicated not in an inflectional manner, but by the more laborious and primitive employment of an auxiliary. As we know, this is foreign to the advanced European system of language. *Ta*, *ja* and *lo* in Indo-Portuguese represent the present, past and future tenses, and the disregard of verb-endings has necessitated the use of *eu* to represent the first personal pronoun. Take the construction of this one Portuguese sentence by way of illustration:—"Vou à casa de meu irmao." The Malabar-Portuguese renders this:—"Minha irmao's casa eu ta vai," that is "my father's house (to) I am going." It will be observed that, as in Tamil or Malayalam, the verb comes at the end of the sentence. This is certainly not the European order of construction. Take another simple sentence. "He is at dinner," would, in true Portuguese, be "*elle esta jantando*," whereas, in the mongrel tongue, they say, "*elle ta janta*." Indeed, in idiom, in construction, and from a generally morphological point of view, the influence of the Dravidian system is plainly discernible. There is also the noteworthy fact that



the true Portuguese possessive which is formed with *de*, is discarded in favour of the English possessive. What is, however, most interesting to the philologist is the manner in which the East Indian forms his plurals. We know that plurals during the period of the babyhood of language, were formed on the agglutinative principle, whereby the singular word was doubled to signify the plural. It is remarkable, as a striking indication of the decadence into which Malabar-Portuguese has fallen, that it recognises only the agglutinative form of plural. Thus the East Indians say, *rapa rapaz* not *rapazes* (boys), *mulher-mulher* not *mulheres* (women), *homme-homs*, not *hommes* (men). Another illustration yet of the inferiority of this hybrid tongue is in respect of the use of the honorific plural (a thing it may be noted *en parenthesis* which we haven't in English). In true Portuguese it is *O Senhor*. In Indo-Portuguese it is *Vossa*. All these glaring incongruities apart, the fact still remains that the Malabar-Portuguese dialect has quite a large enough stock of words for all practical purposes, and the people who use it never seem at a loss to express themselves freely, fluently and intelligently.

Not the least interesting part of this hybrid language consists in its melodious songs. At festive entertainments, the men and women range themselves in two rows and sing for hours together songs the verses of which are often improvised, and sometimes very cleverly, for the occasion. There are typical melodies, though, which are an indispensable feature of every entertainment. For instance, every gathering breaks up with the pathetic strains of the "*A Deos, A Deos, meu coração*." It is a pretty little serenade, addressed by a parting lover to his mistress. But the spirit of the ballad has been lost sight of by the minstrels of to-day, and only the chorus of the original melody remains. As for the rest the East Indian improvisatore puts on whatever verses he thinks suited to the occasion. For instance one popular verse runs something like this.

*Quando menina formoso to do masevs care*

*Quando pera malmaduro tem hum gosto para roubar.*

It is plain that the language of the above is very corrupt. The meaning of the couplet may be rendered thus:—

When a maiden is pretty, all young men covet her ;  
When a pear is ripe, there is a pleasure in stealing it.

What if the primary object of these simple, uncultured musicians is to rival one another in the vigour and the volume of the noise that each one produces ; what if the vilest arrack does duty for the choice vintages of Portugal, still, there is something captivating in listening to these sounds of revelry. The mind wanders back irresistibly over the dead and gone centuries, to the far off times when the daring countrymen of

Camoens held high revel amidst these very scenes, "beneath the mangoes where the parroquets chattered and the pigeons cooed," and when the greatness of the Portuguese Kingdom stood almost unrivalled in Europe. It has been remarked of the lyric products of other hybrid races that they voice not the myriad charms of Nature. They deal only with the inner emotions and passions of humanity. The influence of external nature does not act upon the soul of the lyrist. This is as true of the Malabar-Portuguese as of the Creoles of Cuba or Louisiana. All their songs have an absolutely personal interest. Love, of course, is the prevailing theme, but it is human love alone, and its objects are human. The rare beauty of nature around has not caught the inner eye of the bard. He has drawn his inspirations from within, not from without. Of course, it is needless to point out that these Indo-Portuguese lyrics are the compositions of bards who, born and bred in Malabar, had but the haziest idea of the literature of Portugal as represented in the works of Diniz, Giraldes, Camoens, Lobo and the rest. The Portuguese translated their language, their religion, and many of their racial characteristics into Malabar. But their culture and their literature never took root there. It did to a great extent in Goa, the *Lisboa* of the East, but the reasons for this do not concern us at present; so we make no reference to them. In nothing so much as their religion have these Malabar-Portuguese people clung to the example and the teachings of their early forbears. They are still loyal to the backbone to their faith. The drunken tailor who never finds time to perform his simplest religious duties cannot tear himself away from the Christmas midnight Mass, or from the solemn and lengthy services of the Passion Week. His priest is still a divinity in his eyes, and no one must dare to dispute the infallibility of his religion. Simple indeed is his faith; let us not blame him too much if that faith is scarcely associated with good works.

There are other features also in the character of the Malabar Portuguese that closely resemble those of his European original. For example, none are so thriftless as he. He rears his children in the midst of squalor and misery, and he ignores the necessity of making provision for the proverbial rainy day. When the bread-winner falls ill, or dies, starvation at home is the inevitable result. The widow and bairns must live as long as they can, as well as they can, on the bitter bread of charity. You should see a Malabar-Portuguese wedding celebration. The bride and bridegroom verily walk in silk attire, and their guests emulate their example. Where do you think these costly garments came from? Alas! they were mostly purchased with money wrung from the alms-giving public. That



does not in the least degree ruffle the equanimity of the wearers. Why, there have been again and again instances in which young men of this community have carefully hoarded up a few rupees, solely with the intention of having a grand wedding. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. That is their motto. On the morrow after the wedding it might threaten to be a case of starvation, but such a trifle should not be allowed to mar the mirth of the celebration. Weddings don't come every day, so let the motto be—eat, drink, and be merry, and let to-morrow take care of itself.

As a rule, the dwellings of these people are poor and situated amidst insanitary surroundings. Paddy in the "ould counthry" has a weakness for bringing up his pig in the parlour, and the Indo-Portuguese housewife does not scruple to rear her poultry in her bedroom or kitchen, in the midst of her own children. There is little furniture in many of these squalid homes. Old dust-covered pictures of the Virgin and Child, of St. Sebastian, or any of the other saints that are especially revered by the Roman Catholic races of Southern Europe, look down on you from walls covered with spiders' webs and lamp-soot. In one corner of the principal room you notice an apology in wood for an altar, within which are stowed away many statuettes and images of great antiquity, tempting you to believe that they might have been brought over by some pious sailors who manned the vessels of Da Gama and Albuquerque. At sunset, mother and children gather before this altar and piously recite the Rosary in mongrel Portuguese. It is a great relief—this holy and picturesque spectacle—from the rest of the grimy conditions of Indo-Portuguese home life. Perhaps, the father of the family is lying drunk in some low tavern, or the sons who have outgrown their mother's control, are spending their evening in profligacy. There are some at least who remember the hallowed hour of sunset and sanctify it by their simple orisons. It is well that there exists at least this trifling amount of religion, for the moral atmosphere of Malabar-Portuguese society is none too pure. Not only are the people generally ignorant, but they mingle intimately with the lower classes of the pure natives whose standard of morality cannot correctly be described as very lofty. There are very few of this community who possess any substance. For all that, their conceit is remarkable. It is quite on a level with that of the European Spaniard or Portuguese. Should any one of them, by adventitious circumstances, rise to the eminence of a mercantile clerkship or a petty Government post, he makes it his study to look down with lofty scorn on the rest of his tribe. His old companions of the slums and the taverns are no longer

fit to associate with him. Even his relatives who are struggling with poverty and filth must be put away from his sight. They are all low castes (*casto basco*). He cannot be expected to pollute himself by contact with them. Because of this pitiable conceit, the community has never risen to anything worth talking of, for, of communities, and races, as of individuals, it is only too true that humiliation ever follows the proud.

Let us turn to pleasanter aspects of Malabar-Portuguese life and customs. Their marriage ceremonies are quaint as well as lengthy. The father of a marriageable youth selects a bride for him. His parents visit those of the girl to "clear the doubt" (*tirar duvida*). A formal application is then sent, after which follows the betrothal. Thereafter, the girl cannot go into society without obtaining the previous sanction of her *fiancé*. The wedding is a big thing. The union in Church over, the *cortége* proceed to the bridal house and drink the health of the new-married couple. The chief feature of the wedding breakfast, at which only the relatives are present, is the large number of toasts (*Saudes*) proposed by the elders and drunk amidst loud acclamations. Among the well-to-do East Indians of old, there used to be as many as twenty-five or thirty of these *Saudes*. After breakfast, all rise and sing the *Laudate*. At night a grand dance comes off, the bridal couple being ceremoniously conducted to their chamber on the stroke of midnight. The day after the wedding, there is another breakfast for a select number of relatives, and the occasion is taken advantage of to preach a homily to the young people on the sanctity and duties of the married state. After the breakfast, the bridegroom is directed to go in person and inform all friends and relatives that the Passover—*Passamente*—will take place in the evening. This function consists in the bride being taken in procession to her new home. On the following morning, her dowry is sent. As maternity approaches, the young bride returns to her mother's house, and long before the child is born, its sponsors are selected from among the relatives of the parents. On the sixth day of the child's birth, at about 8 P. M., card playing is started in the house and kept up until morning. Bengal gram is boiled in large quantities and eaten by the wakeful guests. Several old ladies keep a strict watch over the baby, for there is a very real belief that on this particular night, the ghost of an old woman (*Mãi velho*) will come to steal the child. The young mother returns to her husband's home after the fortieth day, or churching ceremony, is over.

There circles round the closing scenes of the life of an East Indian a halo of quaint pathos and solemnity which is strikingly characteristic of a community descended from such a



religiously bigoted Roman Catholic race as the Portuguese. As soon as death appears to be approaching, relatives and intimate friends are hastily summoned, and a messenger speeds to fetch a priest. The sick chamber soon presents a scene of confusion, what with the crowd huddled together round the dying person, what with the women and children lamenting loudly and relieving themselves of their grief by recounting episodes of the dear one's career. Then the minister of God enters, with the sexton bearing a tin box, containing the Holy Chrism, and, perhaps, the Viaticum. The room is cleared for a while, and the last rites of his Church are administered to the patient. As soon as the priest's back is turned, there is another rush into the chamber. When the pulse of life begins to wane swiftly and the end appears to be close at hand, one of the elders present stoops over the dying person and calls aloud in his ears, "Jesus," thrice. And then all watch anxiously till the last breath has been drawn. Thereafter, the women are left to mourn, while the men set about arranging for the funeral.

A written notice has to be sent to all friends and relatives, announcing the sad event and the hour and place of the funeral. The East Indians are such wonderful sticklers for certain outward forms and customs that, should someone, even by accident, fail to receive the notice, he would deem himself seriously insulted and the omission would be treated as a sufficient warrant for the termination of friendly relations between his family and that of the deceased. Family feuds, originating from such a trivial cause as this, have been known to exist for years and years together. Should circumstances require the remains of the dead to be kept over night, there is a regular wake. Cigars, liquor and coffee are served, and men and women watch by turns beside the dead. The body is dressed up in wedding garments (if the deceased had been married) and laid out in state. The hands are clasped and a small crucifix is inserted between them. At the head of the sleeper is placed a large crucifix between lighted candles. As a rule, all profane pictures and ornaments are removed out of sight, and the wall behind the head of the corpse is draped in black. After the interment the funeral party return in a body to the house of mourning to condole with the bereaved family. Each member of the party, according to age and propinquity of relationship, approaches a member of the family and embracing him (or her), falls upon the right shoulder and then on the left, saying at the same time "*senti muito*" (very sorry). This naturally, if the gathering is a large one, takes much time; but it is always most solemnly and exhaustively gone through. Afterwards, cigars and coffee are served to the guests. No

cooking is done in the mourning house on the day of the funeral, and the meals for the inmates are all sent in by near relatives. On the seventh day after the death, after the Requiem service in the Church, to which all those who attended the funeral are invited, the party again go to the house of woe, where the quaint form of condolence already described is repeated, and coffee and cigars are served. It may here be remarked that cigars were not used by these East Indians until recently, their smoke having been the *canoodh*, prepared out of strong tobacco cut up in pieces and rolled in a strip of dry plantain leaf. Several poor Malabar-Portuguese families used to make a living exclusively by manufacturing and selling these smokes.

Tailoring, carpentry, and shoe-making are the principal industries by which the poorer East Indians maintain themselves. For the first-named kind of work, they appear to have a special taste; but unfortunately the artisan can hardly ever tear himself away from the toddy pot, and the result often is that his patron's valuable cloth is pawned in a tavern. In the olden days, the art of tailoring was systematically and elaborately taught by old ladies. The apprentice first studied how to move his arm up and down as a tailor ought to do while in the act of stitching. The necessary proficiency used to be attained by the pupil taking up a little piece of stick with his right hand from his left, with that peculiar sweep of the arm which we notice among the knights of the goose and scissors. This lesson duly acquired, the pupil would learn to practise various kinds of stitches on little pieces of cloth. A tailor, shoemaker or carpenter who applied himself steadily to his profession could easily make from eight to twelve annas a day even in these days of keen competition. But the spirit of application is very rare among these people, and a couple of days' steady work is invariably followed by a couple of days' indolence, or a long spree; and, as a result, the bulk of the community lead a hand-to-mouth existence.

The Malabar-Portuguese East Indians cannot at the present day be distinguished from other Eurasians by reason of any peculiarity of costume, as was the case until a few years ago. The men used to wear on ordinary occasions a short jacket, generally made of white cotton, and coloured trousers baggy as far as the knee and taken in at the ankle. The dress of the women consisted of a jacket, very tight at the waist, and a plain skirt, with a large shawl thrown over the shoulder and pinned on from the front. On grand occasions the men appeared in full dress, with beaver hats. Hats were very rarely worn by the ladies. It is doubtful whether the change of costume has been for the better from the æsthetic point of view.



They are a very superstitious race—these Malabar-Portuguese—and they have some very quaint beliefs and superstitions. There is a bird of the plover species found in Malabar whose cry sounds like "*ta vi, ta vi.*" In Mongrel Portuguese, *ta vi* means "coming." The East Indians believe that, when the Portuguese were fighting the Zamorin, this little bird used to remain in the vicinity of the Portuguese Camp and give very early notice of the approach of the enemy by crying, *ta vi, ta vi.* They never kill this bird, reckoning it ungrateful to do so. They have also a belief that it was the common iguana that betrayed to the Jews the hiding place of the Saviour. Down to the present day little East Indian lads during the Passion Week capture this reptile and stone it to death asking it: "Will you betray Him again?" There is another superstition to the effect that, if a coffin is made a little too long, there will be another death in the family within a short time. A young lady who is engaged to be married would never give a needle or a pair of scissors, or any instrument of steel, as a gift to anyone, believing that such gift would bring about bitter enmity between giver and receiver. The elders watching by the bedside of a dying person will afterwards tell you seriously whether the life went out of the body through the nose, or mouth or eyes, or ears!

---

## ART. V.—THE MAGICIANS OF THE BLUE HILLS.

BY MME. H. P. BLAVATSKY.

**M**ME. BLAVATSKY departed to the land of the unseen, some seven years ago, but her books go marching along. A prodigiously voluminous writer during the last fifteen years of her eventful and picturesque career, she was already represented, in 1891, by four huge volumes and three or four lesser works, including a series of stories in the manner of Edgar Poe, of whom she was an enthusiastic admirer. She had also to her credit numerous volumes of two magazines, which she had founded in Bombay and London. And it might well be said that her works, piled up, beginning with the big folio volumes of the early "Theosophist," and ending with her Oriental Birthday-book, would rival in bulk the starry-pointing pyramid.

It is altogether, a marvellous literary phenomenon, whatever view we may take of the Titanic personality which gave birth to it. But the literary output of Mme. Blavatsky by no means ended with her death; she who taught so much and so vividly concerning the state of the soul after death, has in this, herself conquered death; and, although not exactly a "bard of passion and of mirth," she has certainly left her soul on earth—a soul which is constantly giving new works to the press, and which shows not the slightest sign of flagging, or running short of new material.

Other writers have left a posthumous volume; Mme. Blavatsky has left a posthumous library; and new books are constantly being added to it. We had, first, that wonderfully picturesque and vivid story of her Indian days, "From the Caves and Jungles of Hindustan,"—half fact, and half fancy, as she herself was the first to say; but, with all the fancy in it, coming, perhaps, nearer to the essential spirit of India, than many a book of solidest facts, so closely marshalled that the forest is hidden by the trees.

The next work in Mme. Blavatsky's posthumous library was, I think, the "Glossary,"—a work as clearly defined in its tendencies as the famous French volumes of the Encyclopædists. It was written not to marshall information gleaned by painful research, but to embody the writer's own original and often exceedingly striking views. Curiously enough, that famous criticism of the great Englishman's Dictionary would come very near to embodying a just estimate of the "Glossary;" "the stories are excellent, but they are too short." The truth is that, from a literary point of view, Mme. Blavatsky was,



above all else, a writer of great paragraphs. There was too much force, too much of the volcanic element, in her character, to allow her to carry on one ordered thought in a placidly meandering stream ; every subject suggested to her a thousand other points of interest ; and along each of these thousand by-ways she is driven by her genius, and all the way is finding new and startling aspects of the universe.

Our old geologists used to be divided into the Plutonic and the Neptunic ; the former were all for catastrophes—explosions, earthquakes, wild upbursts of lava, fountains of molten rock. The Neptunist, on the contrary, had far less of the sporting instinct ; he was satisfied to lay out the world quietly, slowly heaping grain of sand on grain of sand, in mildest alluvial platitude. Will not some critic, learning how weary we are of the old division into epic and lyric, apply this fine conception of the geologist to the writers of the world ? At any rate, there can be no manner of doubt, to which class Mme. Blavatsky belongs ; she is Plutonic, Volcanic, Titanic, explosive, combustible ; with lava jets and fiery fountains, and the whole panoply of the infernal gods, which made the books of the old school geologists almost as exciting reading as the adventures of Captain Kid, or the doings of Sir John Morgan, pirate and Buccaneer. By the way, there was a palpable affinity between the spirit of that worshipful knight, and the lady whose books we are reviewing ; he used to appear at spirit séances when she was present, and generally tried to show that he was still going strong, by pounding the furniture and putting forth weird and thunderous noises, little befitting our conception of a shade—even the shade of a buccaneer.

Thus far the Glossary ; then came a book with a name truly formidable, for which she was not indeed personally responsible. It was "A Modern Panarion." The meaning of this has been explained to me ; but I am by no means certain that my memory has preserved as the tale "'t was told to me." It is said to mean "bread-basket"—in the literal, not the metaphorical sense of that expression ; and was, I think, the title of a controversial work by one of the Church Fathers militant—indeed, rather more militant than decorous—, and consisted chiefly of railing accusations brought against all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Heretics. Well, that is not exactly what Mme. Blavatsky's book appears to be, there are certainly scalps and vendettas through the book, here and there ; but there is much more ; and a score or more of magnificent paragraphs, fine, rhetorical, sonorous, might well be culled from this bread-basket of modern days. I am aware that this is a mixture of three or more metaphors ; but that is really intentional, and serves to represent pictorially the character of the book. In fact, this paragraph properly belongs to the new "symboliste" school.

After the bread-basket, we had a new volume of the "Secret Doctrine," containing quantities of weirdly magnificent things, concerning the foundations of the word, the dark backward and abysm of time, fate, freedom and foreknowledge absolute, to say nothing of Gorgons and Hydras and Chimeras dire. There are, besides, many strange sayings concerning the mighty dead; the sages of all time and every land, making up that splendid mystic brotherhood in whose hands has been the tutelage of the world, and from whom has poured down influence, since the dawn of Time.

Now we are promised yet another work, and there is no sign that the supply is anything like exhausted, and there is one thing which at once enlists our favor for the new volume; it is a part of her writings in her native tongue, and thus shares the literary advantages which won a way for the Caves and Jungles to many readers who were not in the least attracted by her other books.

When she wrote in English, in spite of her undoubted mastery of that complicated tongue, Mme. Blavatsky was under a linguistic difficulty and disadvantage; but there was much more in it than this. She was writing for an audience not merely critical, but even bitterly hostile, antagonistic to the last degree. And, even with her splendid nerve and Titanic force, this sense of steady opposition could not but cause a certain constraint, a certain feeling of conscious effort, a painstaking and laboured hesitation; so that, what is her own in her books, and that, by far the best and most original part of them, is often hidden and buried under the debris of other people's writings, whose facts she has used to strengthen and support her own positions. She was perpetually straining to prove things which, in the nature of things, are incapable of proof; and, as her power of dramatic and vivid expression was vastly superior to her argumentative faculty, the things to be proved are hindered, rather than helped, by the proofs. Yet even the debris of other writers, marshalled by a mind so vigorous and full of originality, cannot but be full of interest; and there is something worth reading on every page she compiled, as there is something worth remembering in every line she wrote, of her own original work.

But in the Russian works, she is labouring under none of these disadvantages. The Russians were always proud of their heroic and adventurous country-woman; they saw at once that the element of force in everything she said and did was in itself a sterling quality, a real thing. And the sense of this at once communicated itself to her, and tinged her Russian writings with a spirit of directness, of personal colouring, of warmth, freedom from constraint; in a word, created that



atmosphere in which alone a writer can write well. It is the same with every manifestation of the artistic temperament. Was it Sir Joshua who said to a sister: "Praise me, and keep praising me; if you don't praise, I can't paint." At any rate, the psychological fact is the same whether the story belongs to Sir Joshua or another.

I may begin this somewhat discursive essay on the latest born of Mme. Blavatsky's posthumous children "The Magicians of the Blue Hill," by showing how she can paint, when she has an audience that praises her, an enchanted world;

" 'Mysterious mountains, blue hills.  
Abode of unknown wonders,'

as is sung in the sweet-sounding dialect of Malayalam.

Blue hills truly. Look at them from wherever you like, at whatever distance you choose—from below, from above, from the valley or the neighbouring heights—so long as they are not out of your sight, these two will strike you, from the extraordinary colour of their woods. Light blue with a golden reflection at a short distance, dark blue at a greater, they glitter like huge living sapphires, which breathe softly and change colour, shining with the waves of an interior light."

That is merely a single stroke of colour, but who can bring forward anything finer out of all the endless tomes that have been written concerning the wonders of the East? I need hardly point to the fact that the Nilgiris are the Blue Mountains of Mme. Blavatsky's book; the Magicians are the Todas and Milu-Kurumbas, of whom more anon. But, before leaving the subject of Mme. Blavatsky's really magnificent descriptive powers, let me give her an opportunity to do herself more ample justice, in a long and finely sustained passage where many different sides of her high literary gift manifest themselves in turn:

"Listen and try to imagine the picture I am going to describe. Let us ascend the hill, nine thousand feet above the level of the sea, which, let it be said in passing, is visible far, far away, like a thin blue silk thread spreading itself over the Malabar coasts, and let us take a good look; we gaze over an extent of at least two hundred miles in diameter. Wherever, we look, right, left, north and south, we see a shoreless ocean of green, pinkish and blue hills, of smooth or rugged rocks, of mountains of the most whimsical and fantastic outlines. A blue-green ocean, sparkling under the brilliant rays of the tropical sun, restless and covered with the masts of ships, already sunk or only sinking: the ocean we see sometimes in the shadowy land of our dreams.

"Turn to the north now. The Nilgiri chain, as if growing out of the pyramidal Jellamalay of the Western Ghats, at first

looks like a gigantic bridge, nearly fifty miles long, and then rushes headlong onward, jutting out in huge projections and, stairs, deftly avoiding gaping precipices on both sides, and, at last, reaching the rounded forms of the Mysore hills, which are wrapped in velvety grayish mists. After this, the monster bridge nearly breaks to pieces, knocking itself against the sharp rocks of Pykar ; it suddenly jumps off in a perpendicular line, divide itself into small separate rocks, then into mere boulders, and at last is transformed into a mad mountain stream of stone, tortured by impotent rage to overtake a swift bright river, hurrying away from the formidable stony bosom of the mother mountain.

On the south of the Cairn Hill, for, at least, a hundred miles spread dark forests, dreaming in the splendour of their unassailable virgin beauty, and the steaming marshes of Koimbatur, ending in the brick-red hills of Khand.

"Further to the east the central chain of the Ghats loses itself in the distance, like a huge stone serpent, zig-zagging between two rows of high volcanic rocks. Crowned as they are with separate clumps of pines, which look like short dishevelled hair on a human head, these rocks offer a most curious sight. Their shapes are so like human figures, that one almost thinks the volcanic force that squeezed them out, meant to prepare a stone model of man, about to be born. Seen through the thin veil of ever-moving mists, they also seem to move, these ancient cliffs in their attire of hoary moss. Like so many mischievous school boys, they hasten to leave the narrow pass ; they push each other ; they run races with each other ; they jump over each other, to reach some wide ; open space where there is room for all, where freedom reigns. And far above their level, right under your feet, as you stand on the Cairn Hill, you see a picture of quite a different character : smiling green fields, speaking of rest, of childlike gladness and good will.

"Truly, a spring idyl of Virgil framed with stormy pictures of Dante's Inferno. Tiny emerald hillocks, all enamelled with bright wild flowers, scattered like so many warts over the smiling face of the mother valley. Long silky grass and aromatic herbs. But instead of snow-white lambs and innocent shepherds and shepherdesses, you see herds of huge raven-black buffaloes, and, at a distance, the athletic silhouette of a young, long-haired Toda Tiralli or shepherd priest.

"On these heights, spring reigns eternally. Even in December and January, the frosty nights are always conquered by spring towards noon. Here everything is fresh and green, everything puts forth abundant blossom and fragrant aroma all the year round. In the rainy season, when the far off plains are nearly



drowned by heavy downpours day and night, the Blue Hills have only occasional refreshing showers and look their best, for then their charm is like the charm of a baby, who is ready to smile even through his tears. Besides, on this height, everything seems to be in infancy and rejoicing in the new sensation of existence. The angry mountain torrents are not yet out of the cradle. Their thin sprays spring out of the mother stone and form sweet murmuring brooks, on whose diaphanous beds you see the atoms of the future formidable grim cliffs. In her double aspect, Nature offers here the true symbol of human life: pure and serene, baby-like, at the top; careworn, sad and sombre below. But, above or below, the flowers are bright, painted by the magic palette of India. Everything seems unusual, weird and strange to the newcomer from the valleys. In the mountains the wizened, dusky coolie gives place to the tall, fair-skinned Toda, with majestic face, like some old Greek or Roman, draped in a snow-white linen toga, unknown elsewhere in India; regarding the Hindu with the good-natured contempt of the bull who thoughtfully watches the black toad at his feet. Here the yellow-legged falcon of the plains is replaced by the mighty mountain eagle. And the withered grass and burned up cactuses of Madras are transformed into whole forests of gigantic reeds, where the elephant plays hide-and-seek, without any fear of ever-watching human eye. Here sings our Russian nightingale, and the European cuckoo lays her eggs in the nest of the yellow-nosed Southern myna. Contrasts await you at every step; wherever you look, you see an anomaly. The gay melodious chirping and songs of birds, unknown elsewhere in India, resound in the thick foliage of wild apple trees; and, at times, the wind carries away from the dark, gloomy forest the ill-omened howls of tigers and cheetahs and the lowing of wild buffaloes. Far above the forests, the solemn silence is also broken, at times, by low, mysterious sounds, half-rustling, half-murmuring, or some stifled, desperate shriek. But soon everything is silent again, basking in the scented waves of pure mountain air, and silence reigns supreme. In these hours of calm, the attentive, loving ear listens to the beating of nature's strong, healthy pulse, swiftly divining its never ceasing movements, even in these soundless protestations of glad life from the myriads of her creatures, visible and invisible.

"No! It is not easy to forget the Nilgiris. In this marvellous climate Mother Nature has brought together all her scattered powers to produce every possible sample of her great work. She playfully exhibits, turn by turn, the products of all the zones of our globe, sometimes rising to lively, energetic activity, sometimes sinking into weariness and forgetfulness. I have seen

her somnolent in all the glory of her bright, ardent southern beauty, lulled to sleep by the accordant unanimous melody of all her kingdoms. I have met her also in her other mood, when, as if moved by a fierce pride, she reminded us of her unfathomed powers by the colossal plants of her tropical forests and the deafening roars of her giant animals. One more step, and she sinks down again, as if exhausted by her supreme efforts, and goes to sleep on the soft carpet of northern violets, forget-me-nots, and lilies of the valley. And there she lies, our great, mighty mother, mute and motionless, fanned by a sweet breeze and the tender wings of myriads of magically beautiful butterflies."

I think that whoever reads this, will confess that it would be hard to excel, and by no means easy to equal, as a piece of pure descriptive writing; the colours are so vivid, the imagery is so full of life, the whole picture conceived in such a broad and all-embracing spirit, that this passage should take rank as a classic, among the best things that have been written concerning India.

But it seems to me that something even more interesting than the literary workmanship of this passage, is its psychological quality—the subjective element in it; the insight it gives us into the mind and soul of the writer.

The first element in our subjective estimate is, here, as in everything Mme. Blavatsky said, wrote, or did, the element of force. Power was the key-note of her nature; and she could not have kept it from showing, through half a page of her work, had she attempted to do so. Take the evidence of power, in one factor, to begin with—the most readily intelligible factor: the sustained effort shown by the production of a description of such great length, and of equally high value throughout. A less powerful mind would inevitably flag and grow weary, under such a protracted effort; and we should have the fact at once visible in weaker and weaker strokes towards the end of the passage. But there is no flagging, or withdrawal of energy here; the description flows onward, with increasing, rather than diminishing, force; like a mighty river, that broadens and deepens, as it draws nearer to the sea.

The next element which strikes and interests us, is the deeply pathetic sentiment which pervades the whole; the feeling towards human life: "pure, serene, baby-like, at the top; careworn, sad and sombre below." There was a great deal of this profound sentiment of sadness in "the caves and jungles of Hindustan." It is a sadness wholly different from the bitterness of the pessimist; for Mme. Blavatsky was no pessimist, but held the highest possible ideals of human perfection, and held them firmly to the end. But she saw, and lat-



terly came more and more to see, that man has much to suffer, and many sorrows to pass through, before the shining goal can come into sight. And it is the sadness of real sympathy, and never the sadness of a bitter and disappointed mind, which tinges her Russian books. In her English work, this element is almost wholly lacking; wheher, voluntarily suppressed, through a kind of pride, or driven out by the character of her themes, it has not stamped its impress there. And readers of these works therefore lose one important key to her character. If her English books gain in philosophic quality, they certainly lose in human interest.

Another thing that we cannot fail to note, is the evidence everywhere of a mind not only learned, but, what is much more, truly cultured. Take that one sentence: "Truly a spring idyl of Virgil, framed with stormy pictures of Dante's Inferno." That is not the kind of sentence which is within the reach of mere superficial students of the great books of the world. One must have absorbed the very essence and spirit of them, and possessed them, as a real moral inheritance, before they can come to have this secondary and symbolical value.

A last reflection is suggested; a suggestion, in truth, somewhat out of date, and applying to a by-gone epoch of criticism of Mme. Blavatsky's books.

It is this: Mme. Blavatsky has been repeatedly accused of plagiarism; of making up her books from the works of others, and of doing this so unskillfully as to invite detection. Now, there are two elements in this position. And the first is the supposition that it was from mental poverty, from lack of originality, from absence or deficient character of her own material, that Mme. Blavatsky used the works of others to eke out her own. But we can no longer admit the possibility of this, for a moment, in the face of such prodigal wealth, such originality and power, such abundant and flowing energy, as we find in passages like that which we have quoted. The truth seems to be this: Mme. Blavatsky had no just sense of the fact that what she herself wrote was of far greater value than what she borrowed; she was really very diffident, and underrated her own work persistently.

Then, with a feeling that the argumentative faculty in her was greatly weaker than the creative, she exaggerated the quality which she did not herself possess, and set a far higher value on it than it really deserves. In other words, she thought proof was more valuable than it really is; and that ideas are less valuable than they really are. Hence her own ideas, brilliant, original, and powerful, are hidden behind bulwarks built up of proofs drawn from other peoples books, and, for the most part, greatly inferior in force and directness to her own

writing. She desired to draw a certain picture ; to produce a certain effect in the minds of her readers ; and, with the diffidence we have spoken of, she always used some other person's materials, rather than her own, if she could find anything at all available. One of her critics greatly plumed himself on the discovery that Mme. Blavatsky only used a hundred books of reference. And this critic tries to belittle her work by showing this. It would have been a splendid thing, if she had not even used a single one ; and had set forth on her task, trusting only to her own great and original power. The whole trouble arose from a great and exaggerated idea of the value of proof and argument, arising in a mind much too creative and forceful ever to be able to argue clearly.

Thus, the multiplying of quotations in her books, so far from having its root in the desire to shine in borrowed plumes, really springs from the greatness of her self-depreciation. She never imagined that any credit could accrue to her ; and so took no pains to mark the limits of her own work, and what she owed to others. We are the losers by this ; and we feel how great the loss is, when we come on passages of high original power, embodying faculties so different, and so full of excellence, as that which we have quoted.

"The Magicians of the Blue Hills" begins with an account of the original discovery of the Nilgiris. It purports to be drawn from original sources, and to be based on official documents. I have not the least doubt that, broadly speaking, this claim is true. But it would not in the least impair the value of her opening chapter, if it were shown that Mme. Blavatsky had made up her authorities as she went along. For the real value of the narrative lies, not at all in the facts, interesting as these are, but in the colour Mme. Blavatsky gives them ; the subjective elements she is able to import into them ; and the fine literary quality she gives to the whole. Is it a small thing to take the dry, dusty records which are so abundant in the Indian Secretariats, and make them as interesting as a romance, as full of movement as a drama, and, withal, as admirable in style and finish as the work of a French novelist of the best modern school ?

What is especially attractive in this historical chapter—if it be historical ; though, as I have said, that is wholly unimportant—is the vein of rich humour running through the whole ; such humour as is only within the reach of a broad and genial nature. We are accustomed to see Indian life, and especially life of the natives, treated with wit ; a wit too often bitter, caustic, wounding ; such wit as springs from bitterness of heart, reflected in a quick intellect, and fertile fancy. Here we have not a grain of bitterness, but an abundant stream



of kindness and good will, breaking forth in mockery that could never hurt even its subject, and that brings us into immediate sympathy both with the subjects of the tale, and the teller of it.

Humorous passages cannot be said to gain by piecemeal quotation ; yet I am tempted to gather a sentence here and there, from the first chapter of the "Blue Hills," rather for the pleasure of doing it, than with any idea that I am doing the subject justice.

Take, for instance, the sentence on the elephants, which, feeling that their end is coming, "plunge into deep mud, and quietly prepare for Nirvana." Or this, concerning another kind of great ones: "the slumbering livers of the Honorable Fathers of the East India Company woke up; those poor livers of theirs which were torpid, no less than their brains; and, besides, their mouths began to water. At first, no one knew precisely where all these tempting things were to be had." Or take this reflection: "Between 'then' and 'now,' there lies an abyss, across which is spread the fearful shadow of 'Imperial prestige.' However, there is this consolation, that there exists no difference between 'then' and 'now,' for the forests and marshes of Koimbatour, as to the leprosy, the fevers, and the elephant-legs, which they freely distribute to their inhabitants and visitors." In answer to the question, "what is a shikari?" Mme. Blavatsky replies: "The attire of a shikari consist of an assortment of hunting knives, a powder-flask, made out of a buffalo-horn, an ancient flint-lock, which flashes in the pan, nine times out of ten, and, for the rest, his skin. The shikari looks so old, and so sickly, and his stomach is drawn in so tightly, as if by hunger or pain, that a tender-hearted tourist (not a native, of course, and not an Anglo-Indian), is invariably tempted to administer to him a dose of soothing syrup. When out of employment, the poor shikari can scarcely crawl, and his old back is bent nearly double. Taken all in all, he is a painful sight. But, let a sportsman-sahib call out to him, let him show a few rupees to the shikari, and in an instant the old wretch will look erect and strong, and will be ready for any sport. Once the bargain concluded, he will bend again, and crawl cautiously and slowly away, his body all wrapped in aromatic herbs, so that no beast of prey should scent 'human flesh.'"

That is an instance of humour, as contrasted with wit; look at the kindliness of it all; we see at once that the writer has a sort of liking for the old rascal, and has herself very possibly administered "soothing syrup" to him—in the shape of a few rupees.

"It was in the company of just three such shikaris, that  
VOL. CVII.]

two Englishmen, topographers in the service of the Company, lost their way when out hunting—in September, 1818."

From this point begins an orderly narrative of the discovery of the famous South Indian paradise. With the certainty that it will interest, and with a fairly strong conviction that, if critically examined, it will be found broadly accurate, I shall summarise that narrative here.

The two Englishmen reached the very boundary of what was considered in those days as possible hunting ground. They had come to the Guslehut Pass, not far from the Kolakambe waterfall. Far above their heads rose the craggy peaks of Todabet, in describing which Mme. Blavatsky introduces that splendid piece of colour which I have already quoted, "blue, with a golden reflection at a short distance, dark blue at a greater, they glitter like huge living sapphires, which breathe softly and change colour, shining with the waves of an interior light."

At this outpost of the unknown, the two Englishmen had a misunderstanding with their native followers, which 'not even the joint efforts of our two riding-whips' were effectual to remove. The three shikaris 'shivered all over like aspen leaves,' and rolled on the wet ground, right over the borders of the waterfall, as if in an epileptic fit. Dusky human nature triumphed. This time the two Englishmen went no further, returning to the village whence they had set out, but, at the same time, registering a vow to see what was at the further side of Kolakambe, or perish in the attempt. The local authorities tried hard to discourage this hardy resolution, and the "zemindar Brahmans" told a story with a moral, which will come best in Mme. Blavatsky's own words:—

"One day, Mr. D.," gravely said the zemindar Brahmans, "was carried away, in the pursuit of some animals. He forgot our constant warnings and crossed the waterfall. Since then no one knows exactly what became of him. But the possible result of his foolhardy deed was learned, thanks to an old sacred monkey from a neighbouring pagoda."

This venerable inhabitant of the Hindu temple was in the habit of visiting the neighbouring plantations when free from religious duties. The pious *Kulis* of the plantation were always glad to receive and feed this particular guest of theirs; and one morning, to the great consternation of everyone, the monkey arrived wearing a European boot on his head. The boot proved to belong to the missing planter, but its owner never was found.

"No doubt," went on the Brahmans, "the poor man was torn to pieces by *pisachas*. It is true, the Company for a time suspected the Brahmans of the pagoda, who had an intermin-



able law-case with the defunct gentleman about a piece of land. But the Sahibs are always ready to accuse the holy hermits, especially in Southern India. However, the suspicions were never confirmed."

And the poor planter never came home. He entered the world of bodiless thought, a world still less known to our scientists and great men in general, than the mysterious world of the Blue Hills was then. On this earth, he has become a kind of dream, whose eternal memory is still preserved in the shape of an old boot under a glass case, in the District Police Office.

"Further they said . . . what did they say? This, for instance : on this side of the rain clouds the mountains are not inhabited, so far as visible and palpable mortals are concerned, but on the other side of the "angry water," *i.e.*, water-fall, on the sacred heights of Todabet, Mukkartebet and Rangaswami, there lives an unearthly tribe, a tribe of sorcerers, of demi-gods.

"They live surrounded by an everlasting spring, they do not know either rains, or droughts, either heat, or cold. Not only do they never marry or die, but they actually are never born : their babies fall from the sky ready made and then are "growed," to use the original expression of Topsy in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." No mortal has ever succeeded in reaching these heights, and no one ever will, unless he is allowed to do so after death.

"For, as it is well-known to the Brahmans—and who is entitled to know better than they? the demigods of the Nil-giris have just let a part of their adode, out of respect to the god Brahma, so that a temporary *swarga* may be arranged there,"—I suppose, the entresoles of the real place being under repairs at the time.

"Besides, the zemindars swore that they personally knew a shikari who got drunk one evening in the kitchen of the Collector of the place, and went at a late hour to trace a tiger. He crossed the water fall, and next morning was found dead at the foot of the mountains."

But, as might have been foreseen, all this only served to whet the curiosity of the two topographers. As Mme. Blavatsky somewhat mischievously remarks : "British prestige had to proclaim itself in all epochs of history, as we see : otherwise it might be overlooked, and,—God forbid!—forgotten."

A regular expedition was organised, with an armed escort. Naturally, this caused much perturbation. The zemindars began to "sit dharna," and "the munsiffs rent their garments, which did not cost them any considerable effort, taking into consideration the extreme lightness of their habitual costume ; besides, as a sign of popular calamity and general mourning,

they shaved the heads of their wives, and ordered them to scratch their faces (their wives' faces, I mean) until they bled. The Brahmans loudly recited exhortations and mantrams interiorly wishing the English people and their impious ways in the depth of *naraka*. For three whole days Metopolam resounded with groans and sobs of despair, but all in vain."

After several false starts, and the death of two unwilling guides, the party finally got under way, climbing up perfectly perpendicular rocks, until they found themselves on the other side of the clouds, having crossed the line of the eternal mist, whose blue waves now spread beneath their feet. Further on, far above the mists, they met with a huge boa-constrictor. One of them made a false step, in the twilight, and "fell on 'something' clammy and soft." This 'something' began moving, rustling the leaves under it, raised itself, and proved to be a very disagreeable acquaintance. By way of greeting, the boa wound himself round one of the 'superstitious' Irishmen, and pressed him so warmly in his cold embrace, before a few bullets had time to reach his wide open jaws, that the soldier died at the end of a few minutes. Digging a grave for poor Paddy proved no easy task, as the workers had at the same time to hunt away the white vultures which came in masses every moment, with the evident aim of devouring the body."

Higher up, the explorers came upon a battle of the Titans. Two armies of elephants were valiantly contesting the sovereignty of the hills. This fight had a direct influence on the band of explorers, though they took no actual part in it. The soldiers got frightened. "The sight dispersed them. Seven of them made their way back to the village, which only a day before they had left so triumphantly, and three of them were lost altogether." The flavour of this last phrase would lead us to believe that these last were fellow-countrymen of the boa-constrictor. The party was thus reduced to its original elements, "the two topographers of the Company."

"For many days," writes Mme. Blavatsky, almost in the tone of the Odyssey, "they wandered on helplessly, climbing great heights, and again coming down into the valleys: having no other food but mushrooms and berries, which grew there abundantly. And many nights they spent listening to the roaring of tigers and elephants, keeping watch by turns, and expecting to be killed every moment.

"Many times the unlucky explorers wished to go back, but in spite of their efforts, to go straight down, at every step they met obstacles that forced them to turn aside, against their will. Trying to climb round a rock, or a hill, they invariably found themselves in an impossible wilderness.



They had no compass, and nature seemed to cut them off from every possibility of return. And so there was nothing for it but to go higher and higher, climbing up trees, in order to jump from them to the top of some rock across a ravine."

At last, after nine Homeric days and nights, we find them drop down on the ground, utterly exhausted, under the rocks, 'prepared for the worst.' The spot they had reached was the celebrated Cairn Hill—and here Mme. Blavatsky's genius leads her into a very learned discussion on Cairns, in which we find the names of Brittany and the Caucasus, Scythian and Parthian, Palenque and Mexico, with all of which she was, I believe, personally familiar—but a digression which, in spite of its interest, effectually breaks off the thread of her narrative.

It is only fifteen pages later that we get back to our two topographers.

"Their weary legs refused to serve them altogether. Kindersley, who was stronger than Whish, did not want to lose precious time; as soon as he was able to stand, he started on an exploration round the hill. He was determined to note every possible detail of their surroundings, which would allow them to make their escape again into the plains; a hard task in the chaos of cliffs and jungles, which stood before his eager eyes. But his exploration was soon interrupted. Whish stood before him, unable to say a word, ghastly, pale and shivering as if in a fit of fever. With his outstretched arm he convulsively pointed to the distance. Looking in the direction of his friend's finger, Kindersley saw, in a small cavity only some hundred feet from them, some kind of human dwelling, and then figures of men. This sight, which to all appearances should have filled them with joy, had quite an opposite effect; both men stood thunderstruck.

"The dwelling was of an uncanny, never heard of, architecture. It had neither windows, nor doors; it was as round as a tower and sheltered by a roof, which, though rounded at the top, was a perfect pyramid. As to the men, both explorers were at a loss to decide whether they were men at all. Their instinct led both of them to take refuge promptly behind a bush, from whence they watched the strange moving shapes with increasing fright and apprehension. In the words of Kindersley, they beheld "a group of giants surrounded by several groups of monstrously ugly dwarfs." Forgetting their hearty laugh at the superstitious Malabaris, and the daring audacity with which their own hearts were filled at the outset, both men were ready to take these wonderful apparitions for the genii and the gnomes of the place.

"This is the way in which Europeans saw for the first time

the shapely Todas in the midst of their adorers and tributaries the Badagas, and the servants of these latter, the Mulu-kurumbas, who are truly the abjectest savages of our Globe."

And it is these Todas and Mulu-kurumbas, who are the magicians of the Blue Hills, and fill the title-rôle of the piece. Mme. Blavatsky has gathered together many interesting things concerning the "Five Races of the Nilgiris," in the chapters that follow; she has laid under contribution many works, from the Ramayana to Charcot,—the former, for legends of Southern India and Ceylon—if Lanka be Ceylon—, whence she derives her Todas; the latter, for psychological and psychical facts and theories, by which she seeks to unravel the tangled threads of a hundred tales of witchcraft, of sorcery, or of "mind-healing," as it would be called nowadays.

She has more than one magnificent anecdote, magnificently told, and she has an abundance of humour, and even boisterous fun, at the expense of everyone concerned, herself included.

But, into these chapters, which rival in their tangled luxuriance one of the tropical forests she describes, it is not my intention to follow her. Of the Blue Hills, and her powers of painting them I have already said enough; and to give any adequate account of the magicians, the marvellous things she tells of them, and the still more marvellous explanations she gives of these marvels, would practically involve repeating page after page of her book. It is well worth this treatment; but considerations of space forbid it.

Let me say, in closing, that, of all her books, this seems to me the best written, the most compact, and dramatic. And, more than this, in brilliance, in richness, and breadth of colouring and vivacity, it is the equal of any book on India I have ever read. I anticipate, that her data, so long as they are confined to the visible world, will stand the test of local criticism. Whether her data for the world invisible are as correct, is a matter I am not competent to pronounce on. But, if every fact were proved erroneous, the value of the book would not thereby suffer; the writer is greater than her theme; and she is, after all, the magician of the Blue Hills in whom we are most interested.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

---



ART. VI.—NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA  
ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

No. III.

(Continued from the *Calcutta Review*, January, 1898, No. 211.)

THE novelties described in this paper have been added to the collection in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens since my visit to that institution early in October last. In order to make sure whether the latest accessions to the collection were still living in the gardens or not, I paid a visit to them during my recent flying trip to Calcutta, and inspected the animals in question on the 25th February last. The animals herein described are entirely new to the collection, and, therefore, deserve more than a passing notice.

Proceeding to the Sonebursa Houses and Enclosures, now tenanted by the kangaroos, rheas, ostriches, gazelles &c., we find in the southern of these houses, a fine specimen of the Huanaco (*Lama huanacos*, Mol.) from Bolivia, obtained by exchange from the Zoological Society of London. This animal is a South American relative of the ordinary camel, but differs from the latter by its much smaller size and lighter frame, the absence of any hump, the longer and more pointed ears, the short and bushy tail, the narrower feet, with more distinctly separated toes, and the long and woolly hair. It has two teeth less than the camel, owing to the upper premolars in the adult individuals being reduced from three to two pairs. The Huanaco belongs to the genus *Lama*, which includes two species—the Huanaco and the Vicuna, both being wild forms. From the Huanaco is descended the Llama (*L. peruana*, Tied.), of which the Committee of the Calcutta Zoo have previously had several fine specimens. The Vicuna (*L. vicuna*, Mol.) is said to be the wild stock from which the semi-domesticated Alpaca is said to have been descended. All these forms, wild and domesticated, have their homes in the Andes and adjoining plateaux of South America. Of the domesticated forms, the Llama, which is larger in size, is employed as a beast of burden by the inhabitants of the Peruvian highlands; while the Alpaca is carefully bred for its fine long wool, which is a very valuable commodity. The ancient Peruvians also used the male Llamas as beasts of burden, while they kept the females for their milk and flesh, which is said to be equal to the best mutton. In the early days of the Spanish conquest, droves could be seen of nearly one thousand Llamas carrying silver from the Peruvian mines, the whole herd being in charge of a single native only. It is said that the

Llamas are very easily domesticated and can be managed far more easily than a flock of sheep. All the forms of this genus have a peculiar call, very much resembling that of a horse, and are characterised by the possession of a very unpleasant habit of spitting in the faces of spectators. This habit they possess most likely as a means of defence. The present anomalous geographical distribution of the Huanacos, Llamas, and Camels has been satisfactorily accounted for by the discovery of a larger number of fossil forms of this group of animals in the Tertiary rocks of North America, near the Rocky Mountains, and also by the occurrence of extinct forms of camel in Northern India.

The specimen at the Zoo is of the size of a large stag. The fur of the upper part of its body and of the face is of a reddish fawn color. It is always walking to and fro within its paddock, uttering a peculiar kind of snort-like cry. This animal is a shy breeder in captivity. A pair kept in the London Zoological Gardens bred in 1896, and gave birth to a calf, of which the following account was published in the *Englishman* of the 2nd July, 1896: "Close by the southern entrance to the tunnel at the Zoological Gardens are the Llama Sheds, and in one of them a male Huanaco (*Lama huanacos*) has been kept since 1884, and a female since 1891. Quite unexpectedly, last Friday evening, the female dropped a calf—probably the first born in confinement. The little creature is doing very well, but it has been found necessary to confine the sire to the inner enclosure, for he is extremely jealous of the new arrival. The birth of this calf raises an interesting question. As is well known, the alpaca is bred for the sake of its wool, which is made into a fabric also called alpaca. Unsuccessful attempts have been made to acclimatise these animals in Europe and Australia. The herd introduced into Australia sometime ago was rapidly reduced in number, and, at the end of five years, only about a dozen survived of the three hundred that were imported. But the wild Huanaco, according to Darwin, is very easily domesticated, and the present case shows that it will breed in confinement, so that it would seem as if the dwindling of the Australian herds were due to the animals being kept under unfavorable conditions."

In one of the enclosures attached to the Sonebursa House are kept three Dorcas Gazelles (*Gazella dorcas*, Linn.) from Egypt, which have been recently acquired through the good offices of the Port Officer at Port Said. The Superintendent of the Zoological Gardens, Bābu Rāmbrahma Sānyal, informed me that two of these gazelles arrived in the Gardens with their legs fractured. As it was necessary to set the broken bones, and keep the animals in a confined position



with their legs in a sling, in order to ensure the fractured legs getting healed up, but as there was no sling at the Zoo, the gazelles with fractured legs had been sent to the Pinjrapole at Sodepur, where they were doing well. Only one of these gazelles was, I was informed, living at the time of my visit, in the Sonebursa enclosure with a number of Arabian gazelles, which it resembles very closely except in coloration, which is paler than that of its Arabian congeners. As there are a number of gazelles tenanted in this enclosure, I was unable to single out the Dorcas gazelle from among the herd. This rare species of gazelle is altogether new to the collection.

While on the subject of rare animals from Egypt, I may state that, in January last, some very interesting examples of Jerboa Rats (*Dipus aegyptius* Hasselq.), Puff-Adders (*Vipera arietans*, Merrem.) and Horned Vipers (*Vipera cornuta*, Daud.) were obtained from Egypt through the good offices of the Port Officer at Port Said. The Jerboa Rats are at present lodged in the Rodentia House, near the entrance to the Gardens, and the Puff-Adders and Horned Vipers are to be found in the Reptile-House.

Proceeding to the Rodentia House, we find, in the central compartment of the western series of cages, three or four examples of the Egyptian Jerboa. They are small, pretty-looking, mouse-like animals, having the upper parts of the body of a reddish fawn colour, while the underside of the body and the long tufted tail are of a white colour. These little rodents, or gnawing animals, have beautifully large and black eyes. The hind legs of this animal are much longer than the front ones, affording it much facility for taking long kangaroo-like leaps and bounds. They move about on their hind legs only, supported to a certain extent by their long tails. During the day-time, it remains hidden in the litter of straw provided in its cage, only occasionally coming out to feed. At the time of my visit, I found only one of the specimens quietly sitting on its hind legs and eating of the sliced cucumber and soaked gram given to them for their evening meal. The peculiar sandy coloration of these little mammals indicates that they haunt the desert wastes of Egypt, where it lives in burrows made in the sand. This peculiar coloration is also characteristic of the Puff-Adders and Horned Vipers from Egypt, which are also desert-loving forms.

Then, proceeding to the Murshidabad House, we find in the north-eastern compartment of this building a pair of the Triangular-spotted Pigeon (*Columba guinea*, Linn.) from West Africa. These birds have been recently acquired by exchange from the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London, where they breed regularly every year. They are of a reddish

brown color and ocellated with white triangular-shaped spots all over the upper side, the spots being most conspicuous on the wings, from which it derives its ordinary English appellation.

A single specimen of the Rosy-billed Pochard (*Metopiana peposaca*, Vieill.) of South America had also been obtained by exchange from the London Zoological Society, in whose Gardens it breeds freely. But I could not discover it in any one of the Duck-houses in the Alipore Gardens. Perhaps, it is dead now.

Then, leaving the Murshidabad House, we direct our steps towards the Reptile-House. Turning to the left, we find in the easternmost of the southern glazed wall-cages, three or four specimens of the Horned Viper (*Vipera cornuta*, Daud.) from Egypt. These snakes are about two feet long, of a sandy brown colour, and possess a pair of horn-like processes above the eyes. They are found in the sandy deserts of Northern Africa lying to the east of Morocco, in the sands of which they remain buried. Sometimes they bury themselves so deeply in the sand that only the head and a portion of the neck project above the surface. Their peculiar coloration, assimilating to the colour of the sands they frequent affords a striking illustration of the theory of protective mimicry and prevents them from being readily discerned.

Moving further on, we come to the westernmost of these glazed cages, wherein are to be found specimens of the Bungaraj (*Dipsas forsterii*) from Purnea, which have been presented by Mr. F. A. Shillingford. This snake attains to a length of 4 feet 10 inches and is coloured brown on the upper side, with more or less regular angular black cross-bars, with or without white spots between them; a black band running from the frontal shield to the nape, and another band on each side behind the eye. The under surface of this snake is of uniform white coloration, sometimes spotted with white. Nothing is known about its habits. At the time of my visit, I found it concealed under the sods of turf provided in its cage; and, though I tried my best to make it come out, my efforts proved fruitless.

Moving northwards, again, we come to the glazed wall-cage just to the left of the door in the western side of this house, which is at present tenanted by four or five specimens of the much-dreaded Puff-Adder (*Bitis arietans*) of Egypt, which have been obtained through the good offices of the Port Officer at Port Said. Its head is broader and more triangular-shaped than that of any of its kith and kin. As characteristic of all desert-haunting forms of animal life, these adders, which are found in the sandy wastes of Africa and Egypt, are of a sandy



brown colour. It is very venomous, and even large mammals are said to succumb very speedily to the bite of this dreaded ophidian. It has a peculiar habit of lying concealed, with only its head exposed, which, combined with its peculiar coloration, often leads men and animals to overlook its presence in the pathway, and, consequently, to step on it unawares and get bitten by it. Thus many deaths from the bite of this venomous reptile are due to this peculiar habit. It derives its name of Puff-adder from the habit it possesses of blowing itself out with air when irritated. The specimens at the Calcutta Zoo are about two feet long and can be seen either crawling about among the turf, or lying quietly underneath it. In captivity, I could not detect any of its pugnacious habits.

Then, passing onwards, we come to the small table-cages in the northern half of the eastern platform of the Reptile-House. In one of these small cages are specimens of the *Tropidonotus subminiatus*, presented by J. K. Möller, Esq., of the Takvar Tea Estate, near Darjeeling. It attains to a length of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The upper surface of its body is of a brownish, greyish olive, or olive-green colour, sometimes with black and yellow reticulations. Its neck is often tinged with bright vermilion. There is sometimes a dorso-lateral series of light spots; and a black oblique spot is present below the eye, on a white ground. The under surface is yellowish in colour, with a black dot oftentimes on the outer end of each ventral shield. The young specimens of this snake have a jet-black cross-band on the nape of the neck, bordered with yellow posteriorly. It is a common species inhabiting the Himalayas, Sikkim, Assam and Burma, and ascends to an altitude of 3000, or 4000 feet.

Close by is a small cage tenanted by specimens of the *Ablabes porphyraceus*, also presented by Mr. Möller from the Takvar Tea Estate. Its upper surface is of a pale reddish brown colour, with dark brown, black-edged cross-bands; a black streak runs along the middle of the head, and another on each side of the head, from the eye to the first transverse band; there are on the posterior part of the body and tail two longitudinal black lines, in addition to the cross-bands. The lower surface of this snake is uniformly coloured yellow. It is about 30 inches long.

Another cage on this platform contains specimens of the *Trachischium tenuiceps* from the Himalayas, also presented by Mr. Möller of the Takvar Tea Estate. This colubrine snake attains to a total length of 14 inches. The upper surface of its body is of a blackish colour, while the under surface is yellowish.

All the aforesaid three species of snakes, presented by

Mr. Möller, lay concealed beneath the grass provided in their cages, at the time of my visit. So I could not have a look at them.

Then, leaving the Reptile-House, we cross the iron-bridge, and, turning to the right, come across a roomy cage which is at present occupied by a fine young specimen of the European Raven (*Corvus corax*, Linn.), obtained by exchange from the Zoological Society of London. It measures about two feet in length, and its plumage is glossy black in colour, with a purplish-blue lustre. Its bill and legs are also black. The males of this bird are somewhat larger and more lustrous than the females. In the spring it builds a big-sized nest on a cliff, or tree, and lays from three to five eggs of a bluish-green colour, speckled with brownish spots. Its call is very harsh ; but, at the breeding-season, it becomes more modulated and refined. It can sometimes be trained to imitate the cries of other birds. Its powers of flight are immense, and it can soar to great altitudes. It feeds on rats and other small animals and attacks small birds and even lambs, a fact which has caused it to be ruthlessly exterminated in many parts of Europe. It lives to a good old age ; and instances are known of ravens having lived in captivity for eighty years.

A good deal of folklore has gathered about this bird. It is considered a bird of ill omen in many countries. In Scandinavia, it was considered sacred to Odin. It is found in Europe, Northern Asia, and North America. It is also found throughout the Himalayas at altitudes of 14,000 feet and upwards. Formerly the Indian Raven was considered a distinct species, and several naturalists gave it distinct names, such as *Corvus thibetanus* and *C. lawrencii*. But it is now almost settled that the European and the Indian species are the same. Mr. Eugene. W. Oates, in his work on Indian birds, in the "Fauna of British India" Series, Vol. I, says : "The Raven of Tibet, Sikhim, Nepal, and the higher portions of the Himalayas is recognizably distinct from the Raven which is found as a permanent resident in Sind, Rajputana and the Punjab. The Alpine race, a dweller in a cold, bracing climate, has developed into an immense bird, somewhat larger than any I have been able to pick out from a series of more than 50 Ravens from all parts of the northern hemisphere. The race from the plains of India, on the other hand, a dweller in an enervating tropical atmosphere, has dwindled down to a size which it is hard to match from the same series. Yet between the immense bird of Sikhim and the smallest bird of the plains it is by no means difficult to interpolate others from Europe and Africa which serve to bridge the difference of size. It, therefore, seems impossible to separate the Ravens of the whole world into two or more species."



It appears from the published Report of the Committee of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens for 1896-97 that a specimen of the Brown Tree-Kangaroo (*Dendrolagus inustus*, Müll.) of New Guinea had been acquired. But I could not discover it. Perhaps, it, too, is now dead. The Report says: "Another acquisition worthy of special notice is the rare Tree-Kangaroo (*Dendrolagus inustus*, Müll.) from New Guinea. A monkey cage of the Gubbay House, with ladders doing duty for a tree, is not a desirable accommodation for the animal. But so long as a proper enclosure, with a tree in the centre, cannot be provided, it is best under the circumstances. Even here it may be seen slowly climbing up the bars of the cage, or the ladder, conveying an impression to the visitor that the animal must have only lately taken to this mode of progression as an experiment, which is far from being perfect yet."

The following is a synoptical list of the mammals, birds and reptiles noticed in this paper:—

CLASS MAMMALIA.

ORDER RODENTIA.

FAMILY DIPODIDAE.

GENUS DIPUS.

1. *Dipus aegyptius* (*Hasselq.*). Egyptian Jerboa.  
Hab. Egypt.

ORDER UNGULATA.

SUB-ORDER ARTIODACTYLA.

FAMILY BOVIDAE.

SUB-FAMILY ANTILOPINAE.

GENUS GAZELLA.

2. *Gazella dorcas* (*Linn*). Dorcas Gazelle.  
Hab. Egypt.

FAMILY CAMELIDAE.

GENUS LAMA.

2. *Lama huanacos* (*Mol*). Huanaco.,  
Hab. Bolivia.

ORDER MARSUPIALIA.

FAMILY MACROPODIDAE.

GENUS DENDROLAGUS.

3. *Dendrolagus inustus* (*Müll*). Brown Tree-Kangaroo.  
Hab. New Guinea.

CLASS AVES,

ORDER PASSERES.

FAMILY CORVIDAE.

GENUS CORVUS.

1. *Corvus corax* (*Linn*). Raven.  
Hab. Europe and North America.

110 NOTES FROM THE CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

ORDER ANSERES.

FAMILY ANATIDAE.

SUB-FAMILY ANATINAE.

GENUS METOPIANA.

2. *Metopiana peposaca* (*Vieill.*). Rosy-billed Pochard.  
Hab. South America.

ORDER COLUMBAE.

FAMILY COLUMBIDAE.

GENUS COLUMBA.

3. *Columba guinea* (*Linn.*). Triangular-spotted Pigeon.  
Hab. West Africa.

CLASS REPTILIA.

ORDER OPHIDIA.

FAMILY COLUBRIDAE.

SUB-FAMILY COLUBRINAE.

GENUS TRACHISCHIUM.

1. *Trachischium tenuiceps* (*Blyth*).  
Hab. Eastern Himalayas.

GENUS ABLABES.

2. *Ablabes porphyraceus* (*Cant.*).  
Hab. Eastern Himalayas.

GENUS TROPIDONOTUS.

3. *Tropidonotus subminiatus* (*Schleg.*).  
Hab. Eastern Himalayas.

SUB-FAMILY DIPSADINAE.

GENUS DIPSAS.

4. *Dipsas forstenii* (*D. & B.*) Bungraj.  
Hab. Purnea.

FAMILY VIPERIDAE.

SUB-FAMILY VIPERINAE.

GENUS VIPERA.

5. *Vipera arietans* (*Merrem*). Puff Adder.  
Hab. Egypt.

6. *Vipera cornuta* (*Daud.*). Horned Viper.  
Hab. Egypt.

HUTWA: }  
The 15th March 1898. }

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.



## ART. VII.—THE ORIGIN OF THE MALABAR NAIRS.

AS to the origin of the Nairs, we have no definite knowledge. No one has ever doubted the truth of the general opinion, which is incontrovertibly borne out by the evidence of language, that the Nairs are Dravidians and belong to the same race-family as the bulk of the present inhabitants of Southern India. And it is probable that, like the Pelasgians of the pre-Hellenic days who came from beyond the Alps and pushed south-eastwards, they issued, at an early—perhaps an undatable—period in history, from the eastern Tamil districts, crossed the intervening range of ghats and thence gradually spread themselves as far south as Trevandrum. They practised polyandry and were serpent-worshippers, and they either brought with them, or adopted, the Malayalam language—a language which is closely akin to, if not perhaps originally identical with, Tamil. But whether we adopt Dr. Gundert's view, that the two languages may be regarded as sister-languages; that they are descended, not one from the other, but both from a common branch, and that "they differ more as dialects of the same member of the Dravidian family, than as separate languages;" or that of Dr. Caldwell, who holds that the ground-work of Malayalam is Tamil, the former being simply a "very ancient" and "much-altered offshoot" of the latter, there can be little doubt that the two languages were at one time, atleast in their written form, practically one language.

Dr. Caldwell, who derives Malayalam from Tamil, rests his main argument on the assumption that the Tamil and Malayalam words used to denote east and west—*kiraku* meaning beneath, downwards, and *melku*, above, upwards—are both respectively identical. Because *kiraku* (east) signifies *beneath* and *melku* (west) signifies *above*, he infers that the original Dravidians must have entered Malabar from the Tamil country, that is, the country lying on the eastern side of the ghats—since there they had the low level of the sea to the eastward and a high range of mountains on the west. And, seeing that the configuration of the Malayalam country is the direct reverse of this, this identity of names becomes all the more remarkable. Now, to what may this strange coincidence—tending as it does to confirm the original identity of Malayalam with Tamil—point? According to Dr. Caldwell, "the people by whom Malayalam is spoken must originally have been a colony of

Tamilians. They must have entered the Malayalam country by the Paulghaut, or Coimbatore gap, and from thence spread themselves along the coast, northward to the Chandragiri river, southward to the Neyyâru river near Trevandrum, at each of which points their further progress seems to have been stopped by settlements of colonists of a kindred race who had already reached the western coast by different routes."

But, be this as it may, the validity of the above argument seems doubtful. The *crux* of the situation is this: that, after all, it is a questionable point whether the words employed by the early Dravidians to denote east and west can reasonably be held to prove their exodus from the east, in the face of the analogous immigration to the south of the Aryans, who made their appearance on the western coast first, and afterwards moved on to the eastern. We may, however, also notice that the commoner word used in Malayalam for west—again a Tamil word—is *padinnaru*, meaning the setting sun; while, what is more, it may fairly be supposed that the Dravidian names for east and west merely implied, originally, that east was where the sun rose from below, while, correspondingly, west was where he set from above.

Again, it is probable that, in the early social constitution of the Aryans, the class of Sudras was first formed of the aborigines and of those Hindus who, having lost caste, could not wear the sacred thread. Dr. Day assumes that the Dravidian language, or languages, spoken by pre-Aryan settlers in India originated in Central Asia; that, as the Aryans spread out from the North-west, some of the Dravidians were pushed southwards, while others were partially incorporated amongst them, thus constituting a Sudra caste; and that, as the conquerors firmly seized upon the land, Sanscrit words readily got mixed with the early Dravidian languages. Now, we know that the swarthy Cheruma cultivators of the paddy flats, the Pulaya labourer and the Nayadu outcaste, the wild Panniars, Kurchers, and Kurumbers of the Wynâd, and the nomad hill-tribes of North Travancore, who speak a low mixture of Malayalam and Tamil, are the aborigines of Malabar. It is, then, easy to come to the conclusion that the primitive dialect spoken by these races became so much modified and altered at a later period, when hordes of Aryan and other immigrants—Parasu-Rama's so-called colonists—brought with them Sanscrit, Tamil and Telegu, that the result was a new language—that language being old or Tamil-Malayalam.

But is the protector class of Malabar, as is generally supposed, ethnologically identical with the Vellalas of the East Coast? Tradition, at all events, and in some measure history also, point



to an unmistakable and early—but nevertheless plausible—connection between the two races. It is popularly maintained in legends—and is no less deducible from the works of the early Greek geographers—that Kerala was conquered by Pandya and Chola invaders, and that the country, from a very early period, was subject to Pandya and Chola Kings. It is abundantly clear from these sources that a considerable portion of the South-Western coast was ruled over by the Pandyas at a very early period. We have the evidence of the *Periplus* that, in the first centuries of—or it may have been anterior to—the Christian era, they not only planted settlements on this coast, but also maintained a direct trade with the Mediterranean ports. According to Pliny, who probably derived his information from Megasthenes, a portion of the Malabar Coast was under the rule of King Pandion—"far away from his Mediterranean emporium of Madura;" while Arrian expressly records that the celebrated emporium of Nilkanda on this coast also belonged to the same monarch. Again, it is clear that the foreign Viceroys, or Perumals, whose names are writ large upon an important page in the early political history of Malabar, were the deputies of these kings. Furthermore, history tends to support the theory that a Pandya King invaded Malabar in Cheraman Perumal's time: nay, as is well-known, Pandya and Chola inroads became the order of the day about 894 A.D. With the dawn of the Kollam era, 825 A.D., Chola obtained the suzerainty of Kerala. A few decades later, the Chola King Adityavarma penetrated into Malabar. In the century following, the Cholas—now masters of the greater portion of South India—repeatedly invaded the country, and drew tribute from its chiefs. Chola saw her palmiest days in the latter half of the eleventh century, when her empire attained its widest bounds. Her supremacy continued some years after 1170, when Madura, the Pandyan metropolis, passed over to the Chola King.

Nor is this all. There is yet another theory, to which tradition distinctly alludes, as to the advent of the Vellalas into Malabar. It is assumed that the high caste of Kiriyaṭhīl Nairs was formed out of the sixty-four families of Kárákáṭṭu Vellalars, who are supposed to have won distinction by "guarding the clouds" for the Pandya King. Parasurama—the patron saint of the Brahmins—is reputed to have introduced this class into Malabar, assigning to them the duty of agricultural service in the hierarchy. This theory, however, may be shown to be chronologically unreliable. The Vellalas themselves were clearly foreigners in the Pandya country. King Ugra, surnamed Haradhari, is said to have brought from Kaveripatnam 48,000 Vellalars and settled them in

Madura. And if—as stated in the Mackenzie Mss.—Kaveripatnam had no existence before 800 A.D., we may decisively reckon that the Vellalas came into Pandya after this date.

Until it is proved, therefore, that the Vellala advent into Pandya took place before Parasurama, or that the demi-god flourished after 800 A.D., this theory, of course, has no meaning. That Parasurama lived, if at all, long before the days of the Perumals, is common belief. That Bhaskara Ravi Varma ruled Malabar about 700 A.D., is an historical fact. We may, then, reasonably conclude that if, as is supposed, the Vellalas ever moved into Malabar, it must have been, at all events, not earlier than Bhaskara Ravi Varma's time. But it is clear beyond doubt that the Nairs were already settled in the country at the time of the first *Sasanam*, or Jewish Copperplate, that is, before 700 A.D. Furthermore, not even the name of the Karakattu Vellalars—ostensibly the Sudras *par excellence* of Pandyamandalam—is once mentioned in the *heralolpathi*, or in any of the numerous legends that have come down to us. Nor, as far as enquiries have gone to show, is there to be found on the banks of the Krishna, in Chola, Kanji, or Kumbhakonam—the original home of Parasurama's Brahmin, as well as Sudra immigrants—any the remotest trace of this class or their origin. About their vaunted “guarding of the clouds” for the Pandya King, which is sure to have won for them certain rank or privileges in the Pandya country, tradition is equally silent. On the other hand, the Karakattu Vellalars of a certain place called Anjunád, on the Pulneys, in Travancore, are aboriginals, we are assured by Lieutenant Ward.

There are several other theories concerning the origin of the Nairs. But these are in the main mere idle speculations which have no foundation in truth. It has thus been variously conjectured that the Nairs are of pure Aryan descent; that they are akin to such polyandrous Cis-Himalayan tribes as the Khasis and Garos of Assam, and belong to the same stock as the Newars of Nepal; that they are of Scythian extraction, being of the same origin and of the same race as the Sahs, the Guptas, and the Vallabhis, and are, in fact, the counterpart and supplement of the Naga tribe who penetrated into the Central Provinces and gave name to Nagpore; that they are a specific Dravidian tribe who came to exercise “such a powerful influence over their neighbours, that the name in course of time came to be applied generically to all who cultivated the land,” and so forth.

We will briefly examine these theories one by one.

Firstly, as to the supposition that the Nairs are purely Aryan Arguments—partly based on social polity, partly on anthropo-



metry—have been adduced to show, not only that the Nair immigration to Kerala was synchronous with the Aryan immigration to the south, but that the two races were, primarily and materially, one race. To the theory that anthropometry points clearly to a distinction between the Nairs of Malabar and the Sudra inhabitants of the East Coast, we cannot subscribe. On the contrary, the features of the two coast peoples, though in some particulars unlike, point to a cognate type—of which their general similarity of form and appearance furnishes unmistakable evidence. True, the skull characteristics of the Nairs incline to a more or less prominent Aryan type; but this difference, where it exists, may be shown to be the result of a very different cause. The infusion of Arya blood in Sudra veins, consequent on a custom that has obtained for generations, by which, while only the eldest son in a Nambudri house marries in his own caste, the younger sons are permitted to form fugitive connections with Nair women—as instance the still predominant practice of ladies of aristocratic Nair families consorting with Nambudri husbands—must account for the similarities of form, colour, stature and physiognomy discernible between the Brahmin and Sudra inhabitants respectively, of Malabar.

Another and perhaps more plausible reason advanced in support of the theory that the Nairs are of a Aryan origin, is the circumstance that between these two otherwise divergent communities there has subsisted, from time immemorial, a strange bond of union—feudal and religious. Nevertheless, it will be perceived that this peculiar, and in some respects unshastraic, relationship between the two peoples, not to speak of the comparatively elevated position of the subordinate caste in the commonweal, has been directly and inevitably brought about by the force of circumstances which the early Aryas on their first irruption into Malabar found it absolutely impossible to resist. Owing, in short, to the numerical superiority of the Nairs, who were already the rulers of the country and who held the indigenous races in servitude, and to the position of the country, hedged in on all sides against foreign foes, by “the ghauts in the rear, the sea in the front, and the numerous streams by which it is intersected,” it must have been at once obvious to the Aryan invaders that the conquest of the country, without the assistance of some portion at least of its former inhabitants, would be impossible. Accordingly, we find a certain class of the existing non-Aryan population gradually absorbed into the pale of the Aryan conquerors, and incorporated in their constitution: on whom the latter probably imposed their culture, their religion and their civil institutions; and to whom they certainly accorded privileges which, as a rule, they elsewhere denied to the conquered Sudras.

Other circumstances also, no doubt, tended to the same result. One is the fact that the exclusive practice of religion, the vocation in life of the Nambudri, left him no opportunity for engaging in other avocations; so that the necessity arose in the constitution for a new class of protectors. And who more befitting to discharge these functions in the body politic (of the *eye*, the *hand* and the *order*, as the *Keralolpathi* tersely expresses them) than the Nairs?—While, on the one hand, the haughty aloofness of the priestly Brahmin class went against their approaching the slavish aborigines, the ruling Nairs, on the other, scorned to do them menial service. Hence the Nairs came to constitute an intervening link in the social chain and to occupy a position intermediate between the Aryan colonists and the indigenous serfs—a position similar to that of the clients of ancient Rome, or rather like that of the free Lacedæmonians, who, while they were, on the one hand, below the high and mighty Spartans, were, on the other, above the subdued helots; with this important difference, that the Nairs, unlike the *periæci*, possessed important rights and privileges, and resembled the Dorian masters in being a nation of protectors and administrators. As for the practice previously referred to, of the younger cadets of Nambudri houses forming temporary alliances with Nair women, it will be seen that this was from, the very first, nothing more nor less than a clever device for keeping the *illom*\* property undivided and promoting its accumulation.

Secondly, as regards the theory which professes to identify the Nairs with the Nepali Newars: a theory, by the way, persistently put forward by Colonel Kirkpatrick, Dr. Hamilton, the late Dr. J. Fergusson and others. There are undoubted points of resemblance between the two races. There are curious survivals of primitive practice among the Assamese tribes which, apparently, at any rate, link them to the West Coast people. Their singular marriage customs, too, are said to point to the same connection. The importance attached among the Khasias† to female descent and female authority mark them as occupying a low place in civilization, while the primitive forms of sepulture still in vogue amongst them, not to speak of the many remains in the shape of rude cemeteries, cromlechs, and dolmens that are to be seen in the country,

---

\* Nambudri *tarawads*, or joint-families go by this name.

† "The most curious of their social customs is the importance attached to female descent and female authority. The husband marries into the wife's family: the wife or her mother is regarded as the head of the household, and all property descends in the female line. The ashes of the dead are buried under cromlechs or dolmens, consisting of four upright slabs covered over by a fifth slab."—Sir W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.



indicate that they cannot be far removed from the neolithic age. Another Assamese tribe and kinsfolk of the Khasias are the Garos. The most remarkable of their social customs are such as they share with the Khasias, namely, those relating to the influence and predominance of women. They, not unlike the Nairs, maintain an extravagant respect for relationship by descent through females, which, as it were, reverses the course of human progress and takes one back to the time when what is known as the matriarchate prevailed, when kinship was reckoned through the mother, and no account whatever was taken of the father.

Again, are the Nairs anyway identical with the Newars? Or have they any affinity with the polyandrists of Tibet? The answer to this is easily gathered from an examination of their respective social customs and land-tenures. We learn from Sir W. Hunter's *Gazetteer* that among the peculiar tenures of land of the first-named people, is "the payment of a considerable fine when the original titles are resumed on the accession of each prince." Does not this exactly correspond to the well-known Malayalee custom of *Polichāzuthu*, by which at the end of every twelve years (of old, the usual period of regime of the Perumal and the Zamorin), prior leases of land, now considered at an end, were escheated to the *jenmi* (landlord), and fresh grants had to be acquired from the new king, or lord of the manor, and paid for? On the other hand, the relationship between the Nairs and the polyandrists of Tibet is not so marked. The latter have attained only the most rudimentary social stage. They do not (like the Nambudris of Malabar, for instance) constitute a close-knit, compact social body, or organization, or "an iron-bound caste of inter-related families." They have no stable exogamous groups, and commonly, no prohibited degrees in marriage; in fact, an unbridged gulf separates them and the Nairs in the observance of endogamy. While among the former it is customary for two brothers to marry the same wife, the connection is thought incestuous among the Nairs; and a Nair household would give short shrift to a member who married his deceased brother's wife, or married two sisters. Such an alliance would be reproach unspeakable, and the finger of scorn would unhesitatingly be raised at the contracting parties. Expulsion from caste would inevitably follow marriage between the children of sisters, or, indeed, between relations in the female line who are members of the same *tarawad*.\*

And here one word as regards the charge of polyandry so

---

\* The social or family unit in Malabar is the *tarawad*. It is the home and residence of all the descendants in the female line from a common ancestor.

often levelled against the Nairs. A great many social faults may be laid at their door ; but the Nairs of the present day are not fairly to be charged with this. Whatever may have been the case formerly, polyandry\*, as a national practice, is practically extinct ; and instances of it—even in the most remote up-country villages, where the light of new ideas has not penetrated—are now seldom, if at all, heard of. But a few years before the Malabar Marriage Bill became law, the issue of a Nair marriage were still children of their mother rather than of their father ; and the marriage tie was a contract based on mutual consent and dissoluble at will. “ This† part of the Malabar law,” wrote Mr. Logan in 1887 “ has, in the hands of unenquiring commentators, brought much undeserved obloquy on the morality of the people. . . . Although the theory of the law sanctions freedom in these relations, conjugal fidelity is very general. Nowhere is the marriage-tie—albeit informal—more rigidly observed or respected, nowhere is it more jealously guarded or its neglect more savagely avenged. The very looseness of the law makes the individual observance closer.”

That the Nairs, in their marriage customs, are not quite on all fours with the polyandrists of Tibet will now be fairly evident. At the same time they appear, in nearly every particular, to be the kinsfolk of the Newars. Much has been written about the similarity of their marital relations and other peculiarities ; and nearly a century ago, Col. Kirkpatrick observed :—“ It ‡ is remarkable enough that the Newar women, like those among the Nairs, may, in fact, have as many husbands as they please, being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretence.” But, perhaps, the most striking illustration of this strange similarity is to be found in the remarkable style of temple architecture peculiar to Malabar and South Canara, which has been declared by so high an authority as the late Mr. J. Fergusson to be distinctly Jaina and non-Dravidian. “ Their§ architecture is neither the Dravidian style of the south ; nor that of Northern India, and indeed is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper, but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepal.” Again “ I am not

---

\* According to a recent writer on Malabar law and custom quoted by Sir W. W. Hunter in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (*vide* art. Malabar, polyandry “ has died out in North Malabar, and only traces of it are found in South Malabar. It still survives in parts of Cochin and Travancore. In Malabar the form that exists is found only where Bráhmín or Nambudri influence is strong, namely in Nedunganád or Cherpuisherri.”

† *Malabar* (District Manuals Series), vol. I., p. 136.

‡ *Nepal*, p. 187.

§ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Edn. 1876. pp. 270 and 271.



aware of its existence anywhere else south of Nepal, and it is so peculiar that it is much more likely to have been copied than re-invented." Further on, he remarks :—"There\* are no two tribes in India, except the Nayars and Newars, who are known to have the same strange notions as to female chastity, and that, coupled with the architecture and other peculiarities, seems to point to a similarity of race which is both curious and interesting ; but how and when the connection took place, I must leave it to others to determine. I do not think there is anything in the likeness of the names, but I do place, faith in the similarity of their architecture combined with that of their manners and customs."

But here the comparison ends. The affinity between these two races depends, not on linguistic or ethnical grounds, but mainly on the evidence of architecture—which affords, after all, no sufficient basis for argument ; while the sociological conclusions, though plausible, are not quite convincing. There are no common racial features binding together the two peoples whose customs vaguely point to their common ancestry ; and there is abundant evidence of racial dissimilarity. Nor is this all. Considerable difficulty presents itself in the matter of language, all evidence of which tends to disprove the theory. While the language spoken by the Sudra inhabitants of Kerala is Malayalam, a member of the Dravidian family, the languages of the peoples mentioned above either belong to the Tibeto-Burman group, or, like that of the Khasias, have no analogy to any Indian language. One could understand that the indelible physical character of a race, transmitted across generations, might in the long run be so effaced and altered by admixture (and from intermarriage) with another race, that the former might appear a distinct tribe ; but can it be supposed that a people,—while retaining their original customs intact, should yet lose all traces of their mother-tongue ?

All circumstances tend to substantiate the general view that the Nairs are Dravidians ; that they came from the eastern Tamil districts ; that, because of the difficulties of crossing the huge intervening mountain range and long before the Aryan immigration, they descended into Malabar by way of the north ; and that, after settling for some time in the northern Tulu country (which bounds Malabar on the north), they gradually worked their way southward as far as Cape Comorin. Perhaps, they were a wave of Pallavas—who, spreading out into Malabar and reducing the aboriginal races, took possession of the country and gave name to the Vallodi, or Valluvanadi, caste of Nairs, now inhabiting the Walluvanad

---

\* *Ibid*, p. 305. cf. *Account of Kingdom of Nepal* by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, pp. 29, 42, 51, &c.

Taluk. As for the Tiyaars, it is pretty certain that they came from the south at a later period—any time between the first and sixth century A.D. And were Pliny's sources of information regarding India, wherein he speaks of "the Nareæ enclosed by the loftiest of Indian mountains, Capitalia," obtained from Megasthenes' *Indika*, and if, as has been supposed, the "Nareæ" refer to the Nairs of Malabar, can we not safely assign the date of their immigration to about 300 B.C.?

U. BALAKRISHNAN NAIR.

---



#### ART. VIII.—ENGLISH ORIGINS.

ANGLO-Indians of a certain standing will remember a clergyman—the Rev. Joseph Baly—who, after serving for some time as chaplain at Allahabad, became Archdeacon of the diocese of Calcutta, in which position he exerted himself honourably in the cause of Christian children in India and in forwarding arrangements for their education. It is now many years since Mr. Baly retired and settled in England, where he has devoted his time to a deep and earnest course of study, of which the first fruits have lately been made public in the form of a massive volume of nearly 800 pages (“Eur-aryan roots ;” Vol. I.)

Scholars are proverbially “kittle cattle ;” and it is possible that the title of this work may provoke a conflict on the very threshold. To consider the author’s reasons for the name that he has chosen will be, in some sort, to review the origin of the whole subject ; let us, therefore, cite Mr. Baly’s own words :-

“The original speech of the ancestral race and the collective group of languages into which it has developed have been variously known by the names Aryan, Indo-Germanic, Indo-European. These are, confessedly, inexact and inadequate. To apply the term ‘Aryan’, which denotes strictly only the Indian and Iranic peoples . . . is an arbitrary use of the word . . . Indo-Germanic, again, connotes only the Indian and Germanic dialects . . . while Indo-European omits the Zend and the modern Persian. I have therefore ventured to substitute the term Eur-aryan, which, though less simple than Aryan, has the advantage of being truer . . .”

The word thus coined, on the suggestion, as we learn, of Dr. Whitley Stokes, the well-known Celtic scholar, is founded on the belief in a common origin of the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gaelic, Cymric, Gothic, old High German, and all their more recent offshoots, our own being, as most of us have heard, a mixed product from a branch of which the “Gothic” is the type, but largely affected by Romance admixture. For the primal language, Mr. Baly postulates a primal population ; what he, in accordance with the above-mentioned reasoning, calls the “Eur-aryan people ;” whose language had, he holds, become organised previous to the dispersion ; although, in still earlier days, it had passed through a non-inflectional stage in which a number of words arising from mere articulated sounds had served as the medium of expression. The earliest of such sounds were either single vowels, or at most combina-

tions of a vowel and a consonant ; something like an infant's cries of *pa* and *ma* : and they had, as is the case in ancient, but still spoken, tongues, a very wide range of meaning, differentiated by different tones and gestures. Some idea of the meaning of this statement may be formed by those who have noticed the use of the vocable " So " in modern German, which may be either a question, an answer, or a sort of suspended acquiescence. Out of these original germs, and out of their subsequent amalgamations, arose the various multiple cells which became the roots of the organised speech of the primitive Aryans : the *Ursprache*, as it is called in modern Teutonic science.

These roots are not merely imaginary, but linguistic facts, present in the words of the various derivative languages, as verbs, nouns, and adjectives, applied to various uses, according to the variation of inflections, prefixes, suffixes, etc. to which they are subjected. The original germ formed the kernel and significant element of the compounds formed ; and this was the " root." But, after the dispersion, these roots became affected by circumstances only imperfectly apparent, but forming phonetic changes varying in the various directions to which the dispersed dialects spread ; so that, ultimately, new languages arose in which the identity of the roots was so disguised as to be only traceable when certain laws of change had been established.

All this detail is unavoidably dry, but may be apprehended by examples. Thus, when we learn, from " Grimm's Law," and the others established by later philologists, what are the usual modifications of roots in various derivative languages, we understand the affinities which form the material of Mr. Baly's work, and which otherwise might seem as far-fetched as some of the etymologies ridiculed by the great Grecian, Prof. Porson, when suggested, in the once-famous " Diversions of Purley," by Horne-Tooke. Thus, to show the operation of Grimm's Law, we need only refer to the familiar instance of the word " goose," an animal evidently well-known to the rude forefather, yet bearing names, in the derivative tongues, which can be identified only by means of the canon in question. In Sanskrit the bird is known as *Hasas* (*fem.* *hasi*). In Greek this becomes  $\chi\eta\nu$ , in Latin (h) *anser*, in old High German *gans*. Grimm's Law brings all these together when we find that it distributes the Aryan tongues into three groups which have, respectively, the following habits of phonetic change :—

- (1). *Classical*, Aspirate.
- (2). *Low German*, Flat.
- (3). *High German*, Sharp.

H. and Ch. are " aspirates " ; hence Greek *chen*, Latin H.



*anser* (the initial being dropped in later usage) Sanskrit *Hasi*.

G. is a "flat" guttural; hence the Low German *gans*; old Norse *gās*. goose.

K. is a "sharp"; and the old High German word was *chans*, later *gaus*, *ans*, although modern German has adopted the g from the Low German practice.

Mr. Baly is inclined to trace all these words to the Eur-aryan root G H E., G H E I., or G H I.,—to start up, burst open, whence *chasm*, *yawn*, *gape*, *gate*, etc. (*to gape* is, in Greek, *χαίρω*).

His general method for tracing English words may be thus stated:—

"Under each Eur-aryan root the nearest cognates in each derivative language—are placed in this order: Sanskrit, Zend, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Low Latin and Romance, Balto-Slave, Teutonic, and Celtic. Under Sanskrit modern Indian vernaculars will occasionally be found, and under Zend modern Persian." To this may be added the further explanation, that Low-Latin and Romance include, or introduce, modern French and Italian; while the two branches of Celtic are Gaelic (or Irish, also the language of the Scottish Highlands) and Welsh including Breton and the now extinct Cornish (spoken down to the 18th century), Teutonic comprehends old High German—in which Grimm's Law is found more constant than in the modern form—old Norse, with the derivative Scandinavian languages and the Low German dialects of which our original English speech, commonly known as "Anglo-Saxon," is one. This, of course, brings us, in most cases, to the modern English; in which, however, it may be well to bear in mind, a vast number of the words are of other than Teutonic origin.

In point of fact, this mixed vocabulary is one of the most distinguishing features of our language, and gives it a peculiar richness and variety of expression. From the time of the Conquest to the reign of Henry the fifth, French continued to be the language of Parliament and of polite society; the despatch to the King, his father, in which Henry—then Prince—announced the victory over the rebels at Shrewsbury, is in French. After the Wars of the Roses, our language and literature were what is to be seen in the writings of Malory and Fortescue; but intercourse with the Continent soon revived; and the English of Bacon, Shakspeare, and the Bible arose, in substance, as we write (or try to write) still. What then became, and has never ceased to be, the guiding principle and law of growth has been the use of all the advantages offered by the proximity of such an intellectual source as France, and the free creation of synonyms expressive of every shade of meaning. In compound words, too, there has been little restraint, the only

rule—and that not always quite strictly observed—being that the parts of such a word shall be derived from the same origin. It is not quite proper, for example, to join Latin to Greek in the same compound; though “sociology” is a notorious and successful instance of this liberty. In a book of the present day one may count at least fifty per cent. of words derived either from French, or directly from Greek and Latin; probably, in a newspaper the ratio will be even higher.

Whether, in spite of this characteristic, or in consequence of it, the language—in its various forms—is tending to become universal. In the ports of China, Japan, and the Pacific islands, it is coarse and corrupt, but still intelligible; over the vast Continent of North America it is general—with the exception of Mexico—in common life tending towards dialectic variation; but in literature often used with conspicuous grace and accuracy. From Washington Irving to the present generation a constant tradition has been preserved, by which—though not sacrificing national feelings and aspirations—the writers in the United States have made good their claim to be descended from the countrymen of Milton and Addison.

The beginnings of this imperial speech were not indicative of its august destiny. Roughly speaking, the Teutonic settlements in Britain—extending from the Forth to the south coast—were made by two kindred, but distinct nations; the Angles to the northward, and the Saxons to the south: and this dual colonisation gave rise to the word “Anglo-Saxon” the use of which, in History, so much offended the late Professor Freeman. Hence arose a twofold grouping of dialects, under two different sets of linguistic conditions. The Anglian form gave rise to two dialects, the Northumbrian—now improperly called “broad Scotch”—, and the Mercian, or Midland, of the Marches. Similarly, the Saxon split into the west-Saxon and the Kentish. The birth of what we now call “English” was due to the marriage of west-Saxon with Midland; and its infancy was to a considerable extent affected by Norman-French tuition. What little literature was produced was couched either in French, or in Latin; the best known writers being Wace, Walter de Map, and William of Malmesbury.

But, with the loss of Normandy and the political movement of the reign of John, the English language reappeared and asserted its claim to be considered a serious organ of thought and imagination. Now were produced Layamon’s *Brut*, the Church-Lectionary called *Ormulum*, and the verse-chronicle of Robert of Gloucester: all these were in what is known as “transition-English,” and are more or less intelligible to readers of today. English was also used in one proclamation of the stirring times of Henry III. (which also saw the dawn-



ing of the present political system). Of this last-mentioned document the following extract exhibits the words—in modernised transliteration.

“We hoaten alle ure Treowe in the Treowthe that heo us ogen heo stedefaestliche nealden and swerien to healden and to werien tho isetnessess thaet been ymakede and beon to makien.” Here there is not one word that the scholar is not able to trace in modern English ; as this specimen shows, the earlier English was almost as inflectional and complicated as modern Dutch. But simplification had begun with Chaucer ; and in two more centuries the English language was full-grown.

It is hardly necessary to add that, with comparatively few exceptions indeed, all words either of ancient English or of modern are derived from Aryan roots ; and a great part of the usefulness of Mr. Baly’s book arises from the light that it throws on the persistence of the dearer and more vital elements of life ; so that the words that we use in the closer and more familiar relations are still those which served our remote forefathers. Such words as “father,” “mother,” “brother,” “food,” “heart,” “foot,” and a hundred other such vocables—“voice” itself—are the common heritage of ourselves and many now alien families sprung from the same great stock. Thus, the use of the same word for “plough” and for “oar” shows that the rude forefather practised agriculture before he took to the water ; and the words for “ewe”—female sheep—in so many of the older Aryan tongues show that sheep were kept, and their wool woven into raiment, before the dispersion.

The manner of using the work under review will be varied according to the habits of the reader. It may be at once understood that it is not meant to be taken up in an easy chair and read like a romance from beginning to end. But it is a large contribution towards a complete vocabulary of our world-speech for philologic and historic uses.

The roots are arranged in the order originally adopted by old Sanskrit grammarians, beginning with the vowels and going on to gutturals, dentals, and labials. The liquids and sibilants will form the subject-matter of the next volume. This is hardly a natural order, if we may judge by the habits of infants who seem to begin with labials—“pa” and “ma”—and indulge in gutturals only when something goes down the wrong way. The second volume—on which the author informs us that he is now engaged—will take up the labial consonents at *p* and go on to the end of the series.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of such a study, pursued, as it is in the present case, by a man of learning and industry who is also full of human sympathy. The protracted infancy and helplessness of the young of man, necessitating

prolonged intimacy for the parents, naturally led to the articulation of simple needs and cravings; and one observes with delighted wonder the processes by which one set of such expressions grew into the master-speech of mankind.

The scope of these thoughts transcends philology; which, indeed, is but means to an end, an instrument of pre-historic history. From such indications we are enabled to deduce interesting and useful conclusions as to the order in which various inventions and usages presented themselves to the evolving mind of primitive man, gradually differentiating him from the non-progressive animals; and we are also encouraged to trace the relations of various families of the human race. This latter branch of the enquiry is, indeed, hampered by doubts which have been thrown out as to the "Aryan race" assumed by some writers. Mr. Baly assumes only the connection of the languages, not of the races who speak them. Speech, we are sometimes, reminded is by no means an infallible guide to origin; and that is a truth which cannot be denied. The races conquered by Eur-Aryan people often borrowed the language of the conquerors. The ancient Hebrews used an Aramaic dialect of the language called "Semitic;" but so did the Phoenicians and Canaanites, usually considered "children of Ham." The Greeks learnt the language of their Latin masters. The medieval Norsemen adopted the language of any people whom they conquered; and in modern times English is the language of many millions who have no English blood, even as French is of the Hayti negroes and the Tamils of Pondicherri. Nevertheless, we may, perhaps, find, in the behaviour of concepts indicated by its archaic forerunners, some traces of a common origin with many nations once no less powerful and prosperous. If English and Scots, Moghul and Brahmin, had their origin from the same noble stock, the recognition of the fact can do nothing but good in India. For it will make for mutual understanding and—perhaps—for peace.

Whether through the Teutonic branch, or through the Latin, by far the largest portion our English comes from the same source as does the sacred language of India; though we have now many loan-words from the Semitic and native American languages, and there are few attributes ascribed to the twice-born in the *Veda* that will not apply equally to the modern Aryans whose government of the country gives such unreasonable umbrage to some of the local Brahmans. We are there, we remain—as the French ruler said: and it will be wiser for them to work with us than against.

H. G. KEENE.



#### ART. IX.—SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

**T**HE Suez Canal is supposed to have altered the destinies of the Eastern world. It is owing, too, to the Canal, that England remains so absorbed in Egyptian affairs, since it is presumed to play an important part in facilitating the maintenance of the dominion of England in India. And yet a single charge of dynamite might close this water-route to the East, for the time being, as effectually as if it had never existed. The value of South Africa and the Cape route has hence acquired a fresh significance in our days. Hence, too, the strenuous resistance England has offered to Boer domination and German supremacy in South Africa. South African problems affect India and the Empire in an even greater degree than Egypt and the Canal; for, though these are nearer, the South African route furnishes an ever-open and surer water-way, provided, of course, that South Africa is held by England.

"South Africa" is a term applied to the peninsular portion of the "Dark Continent" south of the Zambezi river, or the 15th parallel of south latitude. It is supposed to be distinguished thus from "British Central Africa," to the north of the Zambezi, and consists of a large number of Governments, States and peoples. These include British, Dutch (Boer), German, Portuguese, and purely native (Kafir), but "protected." Some, as the Cape Colony, are of considerable extent, containing nearly a million of white (British and Dutch) population, besides the usual large proportion of Africans, *i. e.*, natives, Kafirs, Hottentots, Bushmen and others. Others, as Natal, are of very contracted area, and very sparsely peopled by Europeans. Others, as the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, are inland States without a sea-board, but of extreme importance on account of their great mineral wealth. Others, again, like Basutoland and Bechuanaland, are purely native, under a British protectorate. Others, as German Damaraland on the West and Portuguese Mozambique territory on the east, are extensive strips of coastal provinces, the latter with available harbours, a great want in South Africa. Others, again, as the Chartered Company's territories, of vast extent, really only partially subdued, and parts even yet unexplored, are stricken down under the effects of previous mismanagement and bad government. This immense agglomeration of States, Colonies and dependencies, is, roughly speaking, nearly two million square miles in extent, and forms probably the most valuable portion of the entire African Continent. For, besides being highly

mineralised, it forms a great elevated plateau where the European can live and thrive under a temperate climate. It is not too cold in winter, and not too warm in summer. The air, too, is vigorous, dry and bracing. Wheat and all the English fruits and vegetables grow freely on it.

As may be inferred, the races occupying South Africa are numerous and diverse in character. Among the European or white races, there are, first and foremost, as being the most advanced, numerous and wealthy, the British; next, the Dutch (Boer); and, finally, the Portuguese, who are but few in numbers. The Germans in Damaraland may be safely neglected in this reckoning, as they may be counted almost on one's fingers. The British and Boers are almost equally spread over the English and Dutch possessions, there being as many British as Dutch in the Boer Free State and the Transvaal, and there being as many Boers as British in Cape Colony. The black, or African, races present an almost greater diversity, from the tall and broad-shouldered Zulus on the east, to the weak Mashonas of the north, and the dwarf Hottentots and cunning Bushmen and intelligent Basutos of the south. And besides these there are a few thousand descendants of early-imported Malays, and considerably over a hundred thousand natives of India—traders, artizans, mechanics, domestic servants and agricultural labourers, all generically called "coolies." Taking all the blacks, of the "protected" States as well, they outnumber the whites by ten to one. The native Kafirs, or the Bantus, as they should properly be called, retain their old simplicity, independence and manliness of character, though they are grievously oppressed in Dutch and Portuguese territory. They number many millions and are the children of the soil. We have intruded on their domains. They are all gradually rising in the scale of civilisation, and have many excellent traits in their character. They are frank, playful, happy, docile and brave, and present quite a contrast to the cunning and complex-charactered immigrants from India who have been imported among them. These Indians have already begun to have their own "political" organisations, which may in time affect the simple and unsophisticated Kafirs, as these get educated and rise in the scale of civilised life.

It will thus be seen that a large number and variety of problems present themselves in South Africa. They are racial, political, economical, and social; and they are general, as affecting the whole of South Africa, or minor and particular, as internally affecting each State or Colony. While the latter may be neglected in the present consideration, the former are of overwhelming importance. They affect



British supremacy and the British occupation of the country, and thus the naval power of England in South Africa, and the existence of her "half-way house" to India, China and Australia. This was instinctively recognised when, on the occasion of the late interference of Germany, the Flying Squadron was at once organised and sent off in hot haste to South African waters, and the universal British cry, even from Australia, was "Hands Off."

As we have said above, the minor internal problems of each State or Colony may be neglected in the present connexion. The general problems affecting South Africa as a whole are those relating to British domination, the unification of South Africa, the race question, as between white and white (British and Dutch) and as between white and black (Europeans and Africans), and the future of Portuguese, German and Chartered Company's territories and Native protected States; and it is in this order that we proceed to view them.

#### BRITISH DOMINATION (SUPREMACY) IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This is a question of the utmost gravity; in fact, it is the question of questions. Its full answer requires a consideration of all the succeeding problems, and hence will be best found at the conclusion. Here, however, we may view it in its manifest aspects. Is the British supremacy, which is a fact now, to continue; or, is it to disappear, and with it our "half-way house" across the Globe? Would this supremacy continue under a South African United States? what positions do the Dutch (Boers) and the Germans hold in regard to this supremacy? The Boers can unitedly turn out probably 35,000 of the finest fighting troops in the world. They might, if so inclined, take Natal and Delagoa Bay, and probably also Kimberley (the Diamond centre) and Buluwayo, at a stroke. Whether they would be able ultimately to keep these against British reinforcements, is another matter. Insane and unpractical German dreamers even dream of a United South Africa under German supremacy! We have, however, the supremacy, and we mean to keep it. That is the final answer. Germany is too weak to meddle with us where our Navy comes into play. And as for the Boers, though they would like to turn us out, and are quite ready for a desperate critical time—which some think cannot be very far off—, there can be no doubt that, unless England's power, by an entirely unprecedented and unforeseen conjuncture of evil circumstances, is completely broken, victory must ultimately lie with Great Britain.

## THE UNIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

This question has an intimate bearing on the preceding, according as the consolidation proceeds on British lines, or results in a "United States of South Africa," confederated against the outside world. There are so many opposing nationalities and possessions, as German, Dutch, British, and Portuguese, that, at first sight, it is the last sort of Union that would appear likely. As a practical fact, however, the German and Portuguese factors may be safely overlooked. The question thus lies between the Dutch and British; and, as these last will not break away from the mother country, it follows that the Dutch can do nothing in this direction by themselves. A United South Africa, however, is generally understood to mean a Union on British lines—even if the German and Portuguese parts are by some means, included,—and under British supremacy.

There are a great many forces making for and against a United South Africa. Let us consider, first, such as make against it. At the very head of these stands the Boer Republic of the Transvaal. There was a time when President Kruger himself was in favour of the Union. He is not so now. It is hardly necessary to enquire, why. Many events—some very grave—have happened since. We must give him the credit of seeking the good of his own State according to his light, and allow him the liberty of altering his opinion once held. There are some who think—and this even in British Australia—that independent individual State expansion is the best, and he may be one of them. And the stronger and richer the State, the less likely is it to wish to sink itself into an undistinguishable mass. President Kruger may be quite sincere in his present opposition, and the opposition of his State to the measure is a fact. With that alone we are concerned. That this opposition may die out, is conceivable. Should the Boers come to see that federation will not hinder State expansion, or interfere with State liberties, that it will guarantee them from future foreign aggression, or loss of territory, and, it may be, even add to their present advantages, or remove some disadvantages, there will be, we may be sure, no further opposition to the idea.

The next force, also, as a fact, making against federation, is the difference between the two white races. In this matter the black races will have no voice; and the Portuguese and Germans may safely be neglected. It is even conceivable that the Portuguese may be ordered by their home Government to fall in with the idea; while a malcontent State may be kept excluded by the Federation itself. The Dutch and British white races are the only antagonistic elements that we have to



consider seriously. Yet, even a race like the French live peaceably under the British in Canada, and have almost become one with them. And, again, of all the European races or peoples, the Dutch and Germans coalesce most readily and naturally with the Anglo-Saxon. The eastern parts of England and southern Scotland have been largely peopled by Dutch and Germans, and they have become one with Englishmen and Scotchmen. And Germans have become Americans and Australians in the United States and Australia. It is, indeed, absurd to say that there is an irreconcilable racial difference between the British and the Dutch or Germans. As a fact, we find the two in South Africa in close union. In the Cape Colony, Natal, and even the Orange Free State, Dutch (Boers) and British live together under the same laws and political institutions, and in the closest ties of friendship and blood-relationship. It is only in the Transvaal that there is visible any race antagonism. And why? Solely on account of past political events and the past history of the State. The Boer Republic may, or may not, have been cordially treated and taken as brother by the hand by the ultra-militant British South African militant cult; but past events have been burned into the Boer being as with a hot iron.

The earliest Boers, forsaking their farms and slaves, their homes and wealth, and *trekking* out into the lion-peopled wilderness; their being massacred by the blacks; hunted out of Natal by the British after they had occupied it and wrested it from its powerful Zulu monarch; driven hither and thither; denied access to the sea, and prevented from engaging in foreign relations; and, finally, their being threatened with sudden extinction by the Jameson raid, *i.e.*, by Rhodes and his gang,—have naturally, and necessarily, created distrust, suspicion, and a stiffening of the political backbone. It would be expecting too much from human nature to expect otherwise. If we were always to remember this in our disputes and dealings with them, probably things would work more smoothly. It is not because a State is small, or because we could wipe out its political existence, that we should forget facts and the grace of courtesy—the true mark of strength—, and proceed to dictate, domineer, and drive. We trust, we have sufficiently shown that this so-called racial antagonism is merely political suspicion and distrust. It is, indeed, so strong at present as to render union extremely improbable; but it may be softened down and ultimately removed.

A third obstacle is the recent German intrusion into South Africa. It was, of course, a political mistake to allow the Germans to possess themselves of Damaraland, and we may see here-

after how this mistake occurred. But the mistake is there, and the recent interference of Germany with the Boers and their relations to the British may be accounted for by it. But this interference is most unwarrantable, at least from a British point of view. And the attempt to throw German military instructors into the Boer State is another piece of mischief for which the Germans may have to account some day. At any rate, the continued arming of the Boers is partly ascribed to German counsels, and has led, on the part of England, to the reinforcement of her South African garrison. The Germans, then, have been, and are, another obstacle or hindrance to a United South Africa.

Strange and paradoxical as it may seem, the necessity of maintaining British supremacy in South Africa is itself an obstacle to the Union. Formerly little was heard of this supremacy ; but German interference has brought it prominently forward, we had almost said created it. Not only can we not give up our half-way house," but we cannot retire in the face of the Germans, or even of the French, with their lust for African territory and their late unrighteous acquisition of Madagascar. But the fact of our maintaining our supremacy, even if necessary for the growth of the South African State, and for its protection, itself acts as a check on the perfect freedom of the various States in considering a federation. The Cape and other British colonies of South Africa must always, for imperial reasons, remain open for occupation by a British naval and military force. The freedom to combine is limited by this condition. It is not so in Canada or Australia. Only in the very remote, but conceivable, event of Australia and India being lost to England, could she retire from her position in South Africa, and this hindrance to Union disappear. A final hindrance is the existence of different tariffs. This is not insurmountable. But the different ideas entertained by different people regarding the aims, ends, and mode of carrying out the Union, from James Anthony Froude himself, to the latest irresponsible "chartered" public journalist, are somewhat appalling. The aim is to bring the many States into one ; the end is that the United State may advance and become strong in the councils of the world. The details may well be settled by Conferences. There are the examples of our American, and even of our Australian Colonies, to guide here. Individual States and Colonies may well preserve their limited independence, while all subserve the common good. British supremacy—let it be merely in the form of "protection" from foreign interference—, unity of power in repelling aggression, and individual expansion and independence, may all be easily reconciled together.

In passing these hindrances to Union under review, one is



struck with their temporary and unsubstantial character. The Boer Republic may be opposed to-day, but give in its adhesion to-morrow. The "racial" difficulty is merely political distrust and soreness. The German intrusion hardly rears its head now, and may always be kept under. The maintenance of British supremacy is necessary for the protection of the Union from France and Germany. The differences of tariffs may be remedied.

From these we proceed to view the forces that make for Union. They are numerous and powerful, and not of a temporary nature. British ideas and rule lead to self-government; and, as has been shown in other parts of the world, the only wish of England in regard to her Colonies is that they may be united and strong. We cannot conceive of such a policy of freedom, independence and strength being resorted to by Russia for the outlying portions of her Empire. British supremacy in regard to South Africa means not only this, but that England intends to stay there, which implies continued strength and protection. With the British supremacy are its accompaniments—liberal institutions. These are in full force in the Cape Colony, Natal and even some other parts. They are even penetrating the other independent States. They all make for Unity. British freedom rejoices in such free institutions. Only illiberal and despotic Powers can see danger lurking in them. Only such Governments as have an idea of enriching themselves at the expense of their neighbours, regard them with distrust. They are vast moral forces, and must conquer in the end.

One of the most powerful of forces, however immaterial, here, is the *idea* of consolidation and unity. An idea is somehow born and begotten into the world, is prophetic of its destiny for good or for evil, and fulfils itself if it has any life. Ideas govern the lives not only of individuals, but of whole races and empires. Ideas ruled the French Revolution, and changed the current of history not only for France, but for the whole world. Thus, too, the idea of the union and consolidation of British colonies has resulted in the federation of Canada, and is rapidly accomplishing itself in Australia. Who will doubt that the same idea will fulfil itself in South Africa? There may be obstacles in the way; but the glory and strength of an idea is that it should triumph over obstacles. The more can success be predicted for this idea in South Africa that, as will be seen, a number of powerful material forces are working for it. We have just seen that the moral forces are for it. But it has, further, to be noticed, that such political Union is needed. At the present day the world is arraying itself into vast empires where weak Powers have no standing. The Russian Empire has absorbed the whole of

Northern Asia, just as the British Empire has girdled the Globe. The United States have accorded their "protection" to the whole of independent North and South America. Even France and Germany have recently grown immensely. Canada and Australia, long separated into a number of Colonies, have each formed themselves into formidable Unions. India itself, under British sway, has grown to gigantic proportions, and extends now from the borders of French Cambodia to almost the littoral of Eastern Arabia, embracing thus almost the whole of Southern Asia. In the midst of such mighty political forces as Great Britain, Russia, the United States, France and Germany, small States are nowhere, and, but for the protection of one or other of the former, would not exist for a single day. Hence Union—as well as protection—is absolutely necessary for the small and divided Colonies and States of South Africa. Assuming the defence and protection accorded by England to be withdrawn without a preceding Union, and even assuming—what is very unlikely—that no other great Power coveted South Africa, it is quite conceivable that conflicts would arise internally between one Colony or State and another, and that some would even be extinguished. A prey to one another, their wealth and progress would be checked, and even the existence of any one in particular rendered problematical.

The great preponderance of numbers in the South African populations must also rank as one of the forces making for Federation. The vast majority are for it. The British population, without exception, are for it. The majority of the Dutch in the Cape Colony and Natal are for it. The "Africander Bond," consisting almost wholly of Dutch, are for it. Only a small Dutch minority, and that almost altogether in the Transvaal, are against it. This small minority will disappear only with time and enlightenment. Even they cannot but admit that danger lurks in disunion; and that Union means strength, peace, progress, wealth, and stability. Added to this force of numbers, must be reckoned the fact that the great wealth of South Africa is arrayed on the side of Union. All the pastoral wealth and the trade of Cape Colony and Natal are for it. All the riches of the Kimberley diamond mines are for it. All the hundreds of millions embarked in the gold mines of the Transvaal itself are for it. In fact, all the wealth of S. Africa is for Union. So, too, are the iron bands of the railways now progressing in every direction, uniting distant parts, and disclosing, or creating, every day a community of interests. The Cape Colony has 2,000 miles of railway already open, and other lines are projected. A line from Durban, in Natal, runs into the Free State, and also into the Transvaal, connecting thence with the Cape and Buluwayo in Rhodesia. Other lines



are in progress north and south. Even the Chartered Company's territories are being pierced through by a line from Beira, the Portuguese port on the east, to Capetown, of which over a thousand miles are open. The Portuguese port of Lourenzo Marquez (Delagoa Bay) is also united by a line to Johannesburg in the Transvaal, and thence there is connexion with Capetown, Durban, and Buluwayo. Every mile of railway laid down not only opens up so much wealth, or shortens distance, but brings nearer the time when all the S. African Colonies and States shall be knit together in trade, community of interests, and even in feeling. Towards this consummation it may be noted that there have been offers made by one State to help another to find the means of constructing new lines, or of owning lines, or portions of lines, in other States.

We have thus seen that British supremacy is a fact, is necessary, and must be maintained in South Africa. We have seen, too, how intimately related this is with the Federation or Union of the different States and Colonies. In considering the subject of the Union, we have seen the forces acting against it, and such as make for it. The former have been found to be of a temporary character, and therefore may be expected to disappear. The latter are marked by permanency and growth, and can only be expected to triumph. It is even conceivable that, the present soreness of feeling in the Transvaal Government being judiciously softened down, there might be substantial inducements offered to it to unite in a common cause and common course. Under due safeguards, and in a practically Federated State, there is no more reason why the Boer Government should not have its own seaport, like Natal, the Cape Colony, and the Chartered Company's territory—the last in Beira. Even German Damaraland on the West, if in the Union, might—under British supremacy—have Walfisch Bay, which divides the German territory, but belongs to the British. To some these concessions might appear to go too far—(and largely at the expense of Portugal!—though, as will be seen hereafter, when considering the Portuguese problem, Portugal may be bought out ;)—and we are doubtful whether Germany, even for the sake of Walfisch Bay, would consent to give her strip its independence and separate existence under the British *agis* ; but there must be mutual giving and taking, and we have limited the gifts by due and sufficient safeguards. It may also be noted that, in the Federation, German territory may be left out altogether.

In concluding this part of our subject, it may be asked, are not the British Colonies and dependencies sufficiently numerous, rich, and extensive, to form a Federation of

their own at first, leaving dissentient States to be gradually absorbed into it by consent? Of these British Colonies and dependencies, the Cape Colony alone is as large as France and possesses several rising sea-ports. Natal, which has just absorbed Zululand, is the "Garden Colony" of South Africa; is full of undeveloped minerals, and is rapidly advancing in wealth and population. And besides Basutoland, Bechuanaland and other minor dependencies of the British, the Chartered Company's territories comprise an area as large as Germany. All this great extent of territories, peopled by several millions of whites and African populations, abounding in wealth, and united to one another by the railways, make a British South African Federation not impossible. Such a Federation could be brought about almost at once, and would serve as a practical object-lesson to the isolated Boer Governments of the Transvaal and the Free State, which would probably not remain long out of it.

#### THE GREAT RACIAL PROBLEM. WHITE AND WHITE: THE DUTCH (BOERS).

As before stated, this problem is divided into white and white (British and Boer), and white and black (Europeans and Africans). In this division, let us view the Boers first. Who and what are the Dutch, or so-called Dutch, that is, the Boers, in South Africa? What are their peculiarities, if any, and whence derived? We shall see afterwards who and what are the British themselves in South Africa; for it is an acknowledged truth that the British develop diverse traits in different countries, as in Canada and India and Australia, nay, even in adjoining Colonies, as in Queensland and New South Wales. Must the Boers and British in South Africa always remain apart, as Israel and Amalek of old? Is it not possible for them to coalesce? These are practical questions, and upon their due solution the British future in South Africa largely depends. The Boers in South Africa are the original possessors of the soil; that is, after subduing the neighbouring Kafir and other tribes, and previous to the British occupation of Cape Colony, they colonised the Cape Colony from Holland, and brought out with them their families, their sturdy independence, and their Reformed Protestant Faith. This last has to be noted, as it has much to do with the Boer character. In those early days, just as the Puritans left England for America for freedom of conscience, so did these Dutch leave Europe for South Africa. To them were joined numbers of Huguenots from France. Their religion did not teach them the unlawfulness of shooting down naked savages, and taking their lands from them, and making them their slaves. They increased and multiplied, and in many instances had their



progeny reinforced from the black races, the only difference between their procedure and the similar procedure in British India being that the Dutch incorporated this progeny as one with themselves, instead of branding them as an outside, separate class with restricted and inferior rights. We are not referring here to the present so-called "half-castes" of the Cape Colony, who are nearly pure blacks, and very similar to the Goanese Portuguese. In studying the Boer character, this partial incorporation of Kafir and other black blood has not been taken into account by students of South Africa. The African is heavy and immobile—let us say crossly obstinate. Into the highly-educated and polished Dutch and French refugees, often of high and noble families, there thus entered this peculiar trait. All the so-called Dutch thus formed one body. The shooting down of Kafirs, Hottentots and Bushmen made them merciless; the shooting down of lions, which abounded even in Capetown, made them good marksmen and full of nerve. Then came the sudden and unexpected taking over of the Cape by the British at the time of Napoleon. After the Peace, the British did not restore the Cape to Holland; but the two races had begun to live together and feel in common. Then came the Emancipation Act, freeing the slaves throughout British dominions. The Dutch held many slaves, but some compensation was offered them for the loss of their "human chattels."

Thousands of the Dutch colonists looked on this as an act of pure and simple confiscation, refused to acknowledge the elevation of the black to the level of the white; declined the compensation; abandoned their farms, and went to found another colony further north, where England was not. They fought their way through opposing tribes, slaughtered them and were themselves sometimes almost annihilated—for there were powerful African chiefs in those days—; and at length they occupied that portion of the country now embraced in Natal, the Free State and a portion of the Transvaal. They were not, however, permitted to rest. They had more troubles with other powerful chiefs, and even the British came up to Natal and drove them further afield, behind the lofty Drakensberg Range, the Alps of South Africa. Striving to gain a sea-port further north, they were again driven back by the British. Keeping themselves to themselves and out of the presence of the British, they soon found themselves hemmed in entirely by the latter, when these, through Rhodes, deprived Lobengula of his country and formed the Chartered Company's territories. Having, however, discovered abundant gold in the Transvaal—the Orange Free State had previously divided from them and been recognised by the Bri-

tish—, the Boers were inclined to “rest and be thankful.” This, however, was not allowed them by Rhodes and his gang of conspirators. Rhodes was the Premier of the Cape Colony and the principal director of the Chartered Company, and he used all the power he thus had, with the addition of great wealth, to move the “Jameson Raid” against them. It was at a moment of profound peace and unsuspicion, and it fell as a “bolt from the blue” on them, in its suddenness and deadly character. It shattered their ideas of security, and further peace; created suspicion and distrust towards the British as a nation, and converted them from peaceful, stolid Dutch farmers into a race of armed soldiers. The meanest worm will turn at injury, and the Boers have had injury on injury—their very existence threatened—heaped on them. So they now remain armed to the teeth, resolved to sell their lives very dearly at the last, should it come. An offensive and defensive alliance has also been entered into with the Free State.

As may have been inferred, a very large proportion of the Boers of the Cape remained behind. In process of time, these felt their interests one with the British; but they cannot forget their brethren by blood of the Transvaal. There are also Boers both in Natal and the Chartered Company’s lands. There are, thus, two distinct Boer parties in South Africa—the independent Boers, who are irreconcilables,” and the British Boers. These latter are loyal to the British Crown, but will not consent to their independent brethren being coerced.

#### THE BRITISH IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen have colonised both North America and Australia very successfully. But these countries were very sparsely occupied by a few aborigines. There were no white races to deal with. Again, as a governing power, and not as colonists, the British have been very successful in India. This has been due as much to the superior class of Englishmen who have come out to India, as to the diversity of races and creeds. At the Cape all these conditions have been wanting or reversed. Colonising, in the sense in which it is understood in Australia, or North America, cannot take place in South Africa. The Dutch had colonised it already and occupied it. Besides, there is a very large and numerous black race. The greed for gold—and some farm lands, too, have been filched from the blacks—will always attract a certain number; and these will bring in their train trade and other business, and even limited settlement. But it will be neither Australia; with its homogeneous white population, nor India, with its race—or class—of white “leaders.” India has its great princes of high Hindu lineage, and an ancient proud civilisation, and



these are wanting in South Africa. The British, however, whether here or there, adapt themselves to circumstances. Accordingly, though essentially one, the Canadian is not an Englishman or an Australian, and an Australian is not a Canadian or an Englishman. Brought up in the midst of different surroundings, and even different ideas, each takes a separate colouring, and even mental—as well as physical—growth. And so the South African Briton is neither an Englishman, nor a Canadian, nor an Australian. Brought up in a very hard and dry country; with any number of alarms and occasions of readiness to fight, arising from Kafir rebellions and Boer neighbours; and lording it over a very simple black population, he is ordinarily converted from an English Radical to an ultra Imperialist, and from the reasonable and patient average English citizen into driving, bullying, and generally “riding the high horse.” The gold-seeking rough element, too, are by no means modest in their ideas or demands. All this, although there is a very considerable admixture of the older and more gentle element among them, has given the general South African British character a by no means desirable tone. The South African Briton represents the modern militant, and even Jingo, Imperialistic *cult* in an extreme form. In fact, it is this “cult” run mad. If Kafirs are in the way, they have to be wiped out, unless they consent to be enslaved under a show of free conditions of labour. If the Boers are in the way, they are to be shot down. If the Portuguese are in the way, they are to be kicked out. Happily, none of these things can be done, owing to the presence of the superior and gentler class aforesaid, and the pressure of home public opinion, though, here, the teachings of Mr. Chamberlain’s modern “Birmingham School of Imperialism” in British counsels is apt strongly to support and even inflame them. Good as an ultimate guarantee of the spread of the British race, with its accompanying ideas of justice and freedom, this *cult* has become an unmitigated evil in South Africa, and even the source of much humiliation for England all over the world, equally in South America, in Turkey, and in China. With reference to the existence of the evil in South Africa, her best and oldest and most thoughtful residents will bear us out in our view. The strength of the Government is taxed to restrain the wild counsels and impetuosity, the ignorance and blundering, of these foolish “young bloods.” If the Boers are, as asserted, a queer and unreasonable race, though we have not found them so, the British in South Africa do not help to mend, but rather to mar, matters. As among the Boers there are moderates, content to live with Englishmen in peace, and extremists who

can see nothing but war, so among the British there are the upper and gentle classes, the representatives of Britain's love of law, order and justice, and the rougher, ignorant classes, the vast majority, who would bend everything to their ignorant and uninformed will. Fortunately, very few of these are permitted to enter the purely native States, though it has been hitherto found impossible to keep them out of the Chartered Company's territory.

#### THE TROUBLE BETWEEN WHITE AND WHITE.

Between these races, the Dutch Boers and the South African British, the real trouble, as may be imagined, is with the extreme sections, the vast majority of either party. While they agree in wishing to ride rough-shod over everything opposed to themselves, they ignorantly conceive that their interests are divided and not one. Conceivably, too, they might have different interests. The Boer might prefer to have a seaport of his own, and to see his flag waving over all South Africa. The Englishman might like to make all "red"—take the Transvaal, revolutionise its institutions, and, if need be, drive the unhappy Boers out again into the wilderness! The moderate Boers, however, would wish to feel secure in their independence and safe from such irruptions as "Dr. Jim's," and would also be highly gratified with access to the sea-board. The moderate South African Englishmen, at the same time, would guarantee the Boers their rights, would seek to disarm jealousy, and conciliate them as far as possible. While England's supremacy must be maintained as against any external power, the interests of both are essentially one—peace and union. This does not imply the loss of the independence of any, or the wiping out of a race.

There is no use, however, in disguising the fact that there is, generally, a strong feeling of disunion among them, of divergence of opinion, and of political soreness and tension. From the past history of the Boers and of British domination which we have furnished above, it cannot but be so. To refuse to see and recognise the sore, will not mitigate it, but may possibly increase it. The present state of things can only be described as one of great tension, which is being increased by Mr. Chamberlain's reiteration of the word "suzerainty," not the slightest mention of which occurs in the London Convention, and which the Boers will not allow in the ordinary acceptation of the term. If persons in private life sometimes enter into quarrels and arguments through not perceiving the force of an "undistributed middle," we see here the same thing between the responsible statesmen of States and Empires. While this tension remains, and fruitless argument continues, perpetual



little sources of quarrel are being brought by one against the other. Of the two races—the British are the more powerful, if supported from home. But that is no reason for their riding roughshod over the other race. They have to dwell together and side by side, and their aim should be to settle all differences in an amicable way. The Boers being the weaker of the two, the duty of the stronger British is to restore confidence and induce community of feeling. Community of interests already exists, and will increase every day. Time is thus in favour of peace, fresh needs for which will be continually developed. The British attitude should be firmness, strength and conciliation. Mr. Chamberlain has failed in all these. Vacillation leads to contempt. Military weakness invites attack. An impracticable position creates opposition and resistance. Mr. Chamberlain has been guilty of all these. With firmness, and adequate forces, even concessions are possible. The breach, however created, has to be healed. If the British do their part, it will lie with the Boers to do theirs. If they do not respond, it will be their own look-out. Even in dealing with weaker parties, whom we may crush—though we doubt whether the Boers can be “crushed—, we must have public opinion with us. Will Mr. Chamberlain risk bloodshed in South Africa and the necessity of having an army of fifty thousand British troops there, at a time, too, when England requires all her available forces for other parts of the Globe? And will another Boer War result in substantial peace, or in creating a worse state of things than ever and rendering peace and progress in South Africa simply impossible? The two white races must live in peace, or else in the not distant future they will both be ousted by the black. And here we enter on the next, and last phase of the race problem.

#### WHITE AND BLACK.

The Dutch and British at peace, and united into a powerful Federation, may, perhaps, put the question of the rise of the blacks to supreme power indefinitely into the back ground, though there are many thinkers who believe that the day of the domination of the black African in South Africa cannot be put off beyond a half century at the most. Mr. C. H. Pearson, in his remarkable work “National Life and Character,” writes thus:—“It seems difficult to doubt that the black and yellow belt (of races) which always encircles the globe between the Tropics, will extend its area, and deepen its colour with time. The work of the white man in these latitudes is only to introduce order and an acquaintance with the best industrial methods of the west. The countries belong to their autochthonous races, and these, although they may in parts accept

the white man as a conqueror and organiser, will gradually become too strong and unwieldy for him to control, or if they retain him, will do it only with the condition that he assimilates himself to the inferior race." These views have a substantial basis of truth. And, if we take them in connection with South Africa, we find that probably there are ten black men to one white, a disproportion that probably will increase. Taking the staying power of a race to be marked by increase of numbers, courage, and working-power—the last to include mental aptitude—we find the South African blacks fulfilling all these. They are fruitful and multiply. There is no question of their martial courage. Like the Irishman, the Kafir "dearly loves a row," and will not flinch from "mounting a breach." Their working power is well known in South Africa, where one Kafir is reckoned equal to three "coolies" (Indians), while he is far more cheerful and happy and contented. In mental power, where educated, he holds his own with the average Englishman. With the advance of South Africa, industrial methods are being acquired by him, and education, too, is being supplied to him. Gradually, the process of crowding out the whites in their own lines of walk will be completed. With education and wealth will come the franchise, however long it may be held back, and with it will end the supremacy of the white. Mr. James Bryce, in his late excellent work on South Africa, foresees this period, and recommends a well-considered plan and treatment of the blacks as our friends, to enable them to be gradually incorporated into the Government instead of by ill-advised, and harsh methods compelling them to resort to revolutionary measures and massacring and expelling the whites. This great racial problem looms very largely and darkly over the future of South Africa, and yet people, like the ostrich, bury their heads in the sand, and refuse to see it and provide for it in time. Every now and then there is a modest, frank, and able statement from an educated South African black, of the simple rights of sympathy, education, etc., being withheld from him in spite of public proclamations and Government resolutions. It is time the matter were taken in hand, and dealt with in a fair and honest spirit, as Mr. Bryce advises.

#### THE PROBLEM OF THE OTHER DEPENDENCIES AND POWERS.

We now arrive at the third and last portion of our subject, the Portuguese territory, the German strip, the Chartered Company's domain, and the purely native dependencies. We shall take them in the order stated.

#### THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS.

The future of the territories under the sway of Portugal is a theme of constant discussion in South Africa. Their re-



lation to both British and Boer interests is apparent. In regard to the former, England has a "pre-emptive" right to Delagoa Bay, and, further north, the port of Beira is the outlet for the northern half of Charterland. In regard to the Boers, Delagoa-Bay forms the natural outlet for the Transvaal. These territories, thus valuable, also form a rather extensive coastal strip, from the north of Zululand to the north of the mouths of Zambezi. In fact, as comprising these mouths, it may be considered to contain also the natural outlet for the Shire highlands and British Central Africa. Besides, there are districts which have produced and exported gold for ages, and are supposed to be highly mineralised. The Portuguese have held these territories for several centuries. It might even be supposed that, in earlier times, attracted by rumours of gold, they penetrated far inland, with Abyssinian, Arab, or Indian workers, and were the real authors of those old mines in the far interior, now comprised in Charterland, of which so much has been made by wire-pullers in finance and romance writers of the class of Haggard. If anything is certain, in the view of competent archæologists, it is proved beyond question that Solomon's fleets never took their gold and other products from Charterland or the ruins of Zimbabwe. The very workmanship of the beads, nails, chains and other ornaments, too, goes conclusively to prove that it was probably a race of Zulu, or other superior African, workers who made them. Indeed, having closely scrutinised these remains myself, I am even inclined to believe that some portions were turned out of a modern European workshop! In any case, there has been an undoubted produce and export of gold from Sofala, adjoining Beira.

The political as well as commercial activity of Portugal, which held these coasts even as far north as Mombasa, has declined. The authority remains; but the power is a mere shadow, with no hopes of a revival. Portugal, however, is in very intimate alliance with Britain, which guarantees her independent existence in Europe; and therein lies the true bearing of this South African question. Not any nation, however powerful, not even Germany or France, much less the Boers, can wrench these possessions from Portugal while England stands at her back. They contain the outlets to a thousand miles of British territory lying inland, are connected by rail with the interior, and to one of the ports, as we have seen, England has a pre-emptive right. Both Beira and Delagoa Bay are crowded with shipping, and are increasing in importance every day. It is a sad fact, however, that they are very much neglected by the authorities, i.e., Portugal; in fact, the whole country lies neglected and

misgoverned, or not governed at all. Such taxes as are realised in the interior, are collected at the point of the bayonet, and there is a continual round of merry-making and firing of "salutes" at the ports. But, with reference to these ports, what is their future to be? Considering the progress that is being made elsewhere, this is a fair question to ask.

We have to view this question in one or other of two ways, according as we assume these ports to continue Portuguese, or to be taken over by the British. In the former case we should expect the strip of territory to enter the South African Union. The connexion with Portugal might be preserved; and, if converted into a "colony," the territory might be started on a fair and prosperous career. The acquisition of the strip by England may be viewed in one or other of three different forms. First, the coast line from Delagoa Bay to the Zambezi may be sold outright to England for so many millions sterling. At present this portion of Portugal's dominions costs as much in government and in military and naval expenditure as it brings in. It is even possible that, in the event of England withdrawing her protection, it will cost a great deal more; may even be lost. At the same time, its value to England is great, and England can easily spare her South African Squadron to watch over, and pay occasional visits to, its ports. It may be well worth Mr. Chamberlain's consideration to propose this purchase, or even some other arrangement, to complete the edifice of British South Africa during his tenure of office, lest some successor rob him of the glory. He could do no greater act, or one with more lasting and beneficial results for the Colonial Empire of England. Or Great Britain might acquire this territory by exchange for other territory elsewhere, which Portugal might prefer. The third mode is by taking a lease of the territory. The Sultan of Zanzibar has thus leased his mainland coastal territories to Germany and Italy. The nominal royalty would continue with Portugal. Thus, too, for Portugal's advantage, the territories would be permanently safe from Boer robbers and European despoilers. In the third and last mentioned case, the nominal ownership remains with Portugal; in the other two cases, the ownership passes over to Great Britain. And it may be noted that ownership by England does not mean private English gain, to the exclusion of the profit and enterprise of other nations, who would be just as free to the country as Englishmen. The acquisition of Portuguese South Africa would accomplish numerous important ends. It would round off British South Africa. It would give a port to Charterland. It would enable the British to give Delagoa Bay to the Boers—under efficient safeguards, such as the garrison being a "federal" force, and



the presence of a British man-of-war, which might be paid for by the Boers, for the protection of the port, as is done in Australia. It would offer the further chance of the Federation being accomplished. It would do away with future complications; and, finally, it would improve both the ports and the territories.

#### THE GERMAN TERRITORY.

That Germany should have been allowed to intrude here, even so lately as 1884, when the territory virtually belonged to us, remains one of the mysteries of the Foreign Office, like the restoration of Java to the Dutch. Unlike Java, however, German South Africa has already cost us a great deal of annoyance, and may yet cause us further trouble. Great Britain had already, by 1866, taken possession nominally of islands and parts of the Damara coast, and the Damara King subsequently repeatedly begged—even besought—England to take him under her protection. The coast line from Sandwich Bay northward to Cape Frio was granted, in 1876, to the Cape Government. It seems that here, as in China, German “missionaries” were the principal agents in effecting the transformation; only these missionaries did not lose their lives, but plotted against the British influence. Sir Henry Barkly supported the application of the Damara Chief, who wrote, “When will you look at my difficulty? Come, make haste! Answer, and help me from these men (German missionaries) that distress me, lest I perish on your account, and perish on account of my alliance with you.” The Home Government, however, refused to listen to the representations from the Cape, and, after having actually occupied a large portion of the territory till 1880, withdrew to Walfisch Bay, and gave up an immense portion of South Africa, stated to be 800,000 square miles in extent, to Germany, sacrificing the rights and the future of the South African Colonies! There are valuable copper mines in Namaqualand in the South, which are largely worked by means of British capital, which is also constructing a line of railway. As stated above, the English still retain Walfisch Bay, the only good port on the coast. As for the Germans, some dozen or two farmers strive to make an indifferent living, while there are a host of German officials, and some military. Fortunately British Bechuanaland interposes between this German strip and the Boer territories further East; or else there would be considerable trouble. As it is, there have not been wanting signs of Germany trying to join hands with the Boers from the West. As we have shown, the strip originally was, to all intents and purposes, British, and even partially occupied. It is a pity that the permission of England

to Germany to occupy Kiaochao Bay in China was not accompanied by the condition of Damaraland being retroceded. It may not yet be too late to make some such arrangement, and it is called for by the interests and future peace of our South African Colonies.

#### THE CHARTERED COMPANY'S TERRITORIES.

These are of considerable extent, being interposed as a wedge between the German territory on the West and the Transvaal and the Portuguese territories on the East. On the North they are bounded by the Zambezi, and on the South by Bechuanaland. Whatever may be said of Rhodes having most unrighteously seized this vast territory from its native chief Lobengula, there is no manner of doubt that gold was the object, it being assumed that it was as highly auriferous as the Transvaal. This has proved a delusion so far, and the chartered Company, though under Rhodes's personal management, has been so mismanaged that it has more than once been on its last legs. The conspiracy of Rhodes and his gang to seize Johannesburg and upset the Transvaal Government, with the subsequent "Raid," however, was the finishing blow. Whether or not connected, this was immediately followed by the Matabele rebellion, and the end came. The Home Government was compelled to send troops to restore order—a sort of a peace was patched up, and England has taken over the military administration, while the Colonial Secretary is still considering how far the civil administration is to be affected. The great show names on the Home Board, of Lord Farquhar, and the Dukes of Fife and Abercorn, have retired. The country itself is poor, and will not progress appreciably for the next half century. The question as regards Charterland is, how is Government to be made sufficiently safe and stable for settlers to make up their minds to live there?

Here, fortunately, we are not left without some guidance from the almost parallel cases of India and the Malayan Peninsula. In the latter we have brought about an effective confederation of native chiefs, which may probably furnish a lesson for the numerous native African dependencies which we have yet to view. India, however, furnishes the most valuable lessons for Charterland. In India chiefs and princes, and even wild tribes, have been successfully taught to feel themselves a part of a settled government and a great empire. A select "civil service" with a high *esprit de corps*, working on Indian lines, would raise Charterland from its present dismal condition. The men must, as for India, be sent out from home—men of some education, imbued with English traditions of honour and justice. The South African Colonies may have



some good men ; but such as they have cannot be spared. The adventurous, reckless, and vaunting class of men, stricken with the modern militant *cult* of England's "Imperial" power, who fill the South African Colonies, will never answer. A few men might even be drafted from India and Malaya to initiate the "service" and give it the proper tone and direction.

The men being found, a definite, just, human, and effective plan of administration and government should be laid down. For efficient protection of life and property, however, there must be adequate military security. The Kafirs everywhere are unstable in character, and given to sudden and apparently causeless risings. There must, therefore, be a force or forces, sufficient to prevent sudden outbursts of national or tribal feeling. Here, however, a comparatively small force would suffice, and they might all be recruited from our North-West Indian tribes. Some three or four regiments of "Irregulars," or mounted infantry, would, in small detachments of about 300 men each, be amply sufficient if placed at certain strategic points. In carrying out good government, the country will require to be generally surveyed and examined, to find out the most suitable tracts for British settlers and the most suitable "locations" for the native tribes. Each of these should be confined to their own spheres. The mistake of the Chartered Company, in its greed for gold, lay in permitting indiscriminate *trekking*—and that even to the merciless Boers—so that a host of needy so-called "prospectors" and other adventurers spread themselves all over the land in twos and threes, maltreating the blacks wherever they went. This mistake must be carefully avoided, all prospecting parties being registered and made to observe to certain rules of conduct, at the same time that they should not be permitted inside the native locations. The Kafirs are ordinarily a quiet and docile, and even a fine race, and we have no right, after depriving them of their country, to further subject them to inhuman maltreatment.

#### THE NATIVE DEPENDENCIES.

There are several of these, such as Khama's country, north of Cape Colony, of great extent ; while others, like Basutoland, though small, are of considerable importance, from their position, or the superior intelligence of their inhabitants. They are either tacked on to one or another of the Colonies, or left under their own rulers, with a British Resident. This reminds me strongly of the composite aspect of our Indian Empire. In South Africa, too, as in Native India, the independent European adventurer is discouraged. There is every prospect of the Native African States advancing in civilisation if these adventurers are

kept out, and imported fiery spirits forbidden. Basutoland is a fine example already of what a purely Native Kafir State, without a low class of Europeans allowed in it, may rise to. There are law, order, justice, efficient administration, trade, cultivation, industry, schools, and even hospitals. Zululand, from its proximity to Natal, and other reasons, has been permitted a greater influx of European small traders and prospectors, and has lately even been "incorporated" into Natal. Let us hope, however, that this fine race will be kept apart from the contaminating influence of "low whites"—though there is not much chance of it—, so that there may be no future rebellion and disturbance in their country.

#### CONCLUSION.

We have, thus, successively gone over the various problems which confront us in South Africa, the supremacy of Great Britain ; the Unification of the Provinces, States, and Colonies ; the Racial question ; the German and Portuguese territories, and Charterland ; and the continued existence of purely native States. These problems are such as apply to South Africa viewed as a whole. Local and other minor State and colonial problems must be left by us for consideration in another paper. But the problems we have been viewing, with the exception of probably the very last, may all be said to be "burning questions." They altogether form a very dangerous group of difficulties, and present the prospect of continued explosions unless handled with wisdom and care, with firmness and strength. They also present the prospect, if thus handled, of a mighty and powerful empire, and an efficient buttress of England. Whether the result will be the one or the other, will depend on the wisdom of the Home Colonial Office, and Mr. Chamberlain will see his reputation either made or marred by South Africa : made by conciliating the Dutch, buying out Germany and Portugal, ordering an efficient government in Charterland, saving the native States, and building up a United South Africa under British protection ;—marred by unreasonable contentions about mere words ; by interfering with Dutch domestic affairs ; by weakness and vacillation, alternating with bullying ; by creating another and a worse war of races between white and white, and making sure of a future war of races between white and black, by allowing the Native States to go by the board.

*January, 1898.*

Pietermaritzburg.

A. M. CAMERON.



ART. X.—VASCO DA GAMA'S VOYAGE.

“THE JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA BY  
SEA TO INDIA IN THE YEAR 1497.”

*Preface.*

THE “Journal of the Voyage of Vasco da Gama to India” is commonly known in Portuguese as the “Roteiro,” or “Ruttier.” It was the first account ever given to Europe of that sea-road to India the discovery of which has had such important consequences for modern civilisation, indirectly becoming the source of the present greatness of England.

The author of the “Roteiro” is uncertain. According to its first Portuguese editors, Professor Diogo Kopke and Dr. Antonio da Costa Paiva, who published it in 1838 from a MS. from the Library of the Monastery of the Holy Cross at Coimbra, it was the work of Alvarez Velho, who had taken part in Vasco da Gama's expedition as a sailor on board the St. Raphael. It is, however, not impossible that it is really the account of the voyage, mentioned by Correia, which was compiled by Joam de Figueira, one of the chaplains of the fleet, and was handed by him to Vasco da Gama, when he imagined himself on his death-bed at Melinde, during the voyage home, in January, 1499. Correia used this work as the basis of his account of the expedition in his “Lendas da India,” and expressly states that many copies were made of it, one of which he found amongst some old papers belonging to Affonso de Albuquerque, whose secretary he was. In any case the MS., which is in very ungrammatical mediæval Portuguese, seems to be a copy made from the original early in the 16th century by a certain Friar Theotónio de S. G. . . . “Canon Regular of the Monastery of the Holy Cross at Coimbra,” whose name it bears. The work appears to have been known to Camoens, who has made much use of it in the 5th canto of the *Lusiad*, and was very ably re-edited by the famous historians of Portugal, A. Herculano, and Baron do Castello de Paiva, in 1861, who regard it as the work of Alvarez Velho and as a very valuable supplement to Correia's account, which, however, was compiled at least forty years after Vasco da Gama's return.

A very able account of the “Roteiro” has been given by Sir R. Burton in the second volume of his commentaries on the *Lusiad* of Camoens. This has been of great service to the translator. It is based mainly upon Correia, da Barros, and

upon the *Lusiad*, but contains some details gathered by Sir R. Burton himself during his voyage to Goa in 1851.

The translator has ventured to bring the notes of the Portuguese Edition of 1861 down to date, and has chiefly availed himself of Correia, the *Lusiad*, and Oscar Peschel's "History of Geography." He has also received invaluable assistance from Sir W. W. Hunter's "Imperial Gazetteer of India," the correctness of which is fully corroborated by these Portuguese materials, which were apparently unknown to Sir W. W. Hunter at the time when he compiled it. A valuable summary of Correia's account of the voyage is given for English readers by Mr. F. C. Danvers, in his "History of the Portuguese in the East." The translator has also to express his sincere thanks to Mr. A. R. Macdonald, late of the Bombay Civil Service, for much help in matters connected with Hindoo mythology.

---

#### INTRODUCTION.

It is well-known that, after the return of Bartholomew Diaz from the great expedition in 1487, on which he had discovered the Cape of Good Hope, the zeal of the Portuguese Government for the prosecution of the task of discovering the sea-road to India grew very fertile. Almost yearly since 1434, when Gil Eanes had, for the first time, passed Cape Bojador, so long the limit of the known world, expensive expeditions had been sent out with instructions to make their way to the Christian King of Abyssinia and to the lands whence the spices and precious stones, which formed the most valuable articles of Eastern commerce, came. Prince Henry the Navigator (1393-1460,) Affonso V (1438-1481) and John II (1481-1495) had never wearied in carrying on a work which, if successful, would make Portugal the first amongst the nations. Hitherto their efforts had been singularly unsuccessful. The coast of Africa, a long line of sands and mountains, stretching further and further towards the Antarctic Pole, seemed to have been raised as a barrier by the Almighty Himself to shut out for ever the nations of the West from the Eastern Seas. When, at length, almost accidentally, the Cape of Good Hope had been discovered, it was found that the road to India lay through cold and stormy seas, and that, even when the belt of storms was traversed, the Mozambique current, sweeping southward with resistless force, opposed to the navigator an obstacle even more formidable than the very tempests themselves. John II shrank from continuing any longer a task which had proved so useless in its results; and, but for the voyage of Columbus, who, by sailing westwards, imagined that he had arrived at the shores



of Asia and had placed the crown of the Indies on the brow of the Queen of Castille and of Leon, it is probable, that the honour of being the first to reach India by sea would have been reserved for some Spanish sailor.

In 1495, John II died, and Emmanuel, Duke of Beja, ascended the throne of Portugal as Don Manoel I. (1495-1521). In 1496, after the treaty of Tordesillas had conferred upon Portugal the undisputed dominion of all the Eastern world, he determined to resume the policy of discovery which for eighty years had expressed all the energies of his predecessors. If he could succeed in discovering the sea-road to India, he would not only wrest from the Turk, the Venetian and the Genoese, the spice trade which had, hitherto, centred in Alexandria, but, in the words of the diploma of nobility conferred upon Don Vasco da Gama on his return, would also ensure "that the Faith of Our Lord should be spread abroad, "and His Name should become known throughout yet other "parts of this earth."

King Manoel was encouraged in his task by the Court astronomer and astrologer, Abraham Ben Samuel Zacuth, a Jew who was versed in all the geographical science of the time, and also by despatches which had reached him through a Venetian merchant from Pero de Covilham, a gentleman of his predecessor's bedchamber, who, having been sent in May, 1487, through Cairo, on a Mission to Abyssinia, to prepare a friendly reception for Bartholomew Diaz in the Abyssinian ports, had, with the help of Indian traders, made his way across the Arabian Sea to Cambay and the Great Indian mart of Calicut, whence he had proceeded to Sofalla, the southernmost Arab settlement on the East Coast of Africa. At Sofalla he had learnt from the Arabian shipowners such particulars as to the existence of vast seas to the southward that there could be no longer any fear lest a land barrier interposed between the Great Fish River, which was the furthest point reached by Bartholomew Diaz, and Sofalla, whence the sea-road to India was well-known. Hence the existence of a communication by sea for vessels sailing eastwards from Lisbon to the eastern ports was fully established. Whilst on his return home, Pero de Covilham was arrested by the Negus of Abyssinia and kept in that country as a prisoner until his death; but through the Abyssinian Christians, who yearly made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and who thus kept up some slight intercourse between Abyssinia and the Christian world, he was enabled to convey his fateful tidings to the King of Portugal.

On the receipt of Pero da Covilham's letters, an expedition was at once resolved upon, and three ships were laid down in

Lisbon dockyard, the work of construction being placed under the charge of Joam Infante, a sailor who had already made the Cape Voyage with Bartholomew Diaz. D. Manoel was singularly superstitious, and, apparently almost entirely in consequence of his belief in omens, placed the expedition under the command of Vasco da Gama, a noble by birth, who was the son of Estevam da Gama, formerly Steward of the household of Affonso V., and who had chanced to come into the room whilst the Royal Council were seated at dinner, discussing the intended undertaking. Vasco da Gama chose, as his colleagues, his elder brother, Paullo da Gama, and his great friend, Nicholas Coellho, whilst his servant, Gonzalo Nunez, was named to command a tender which was to accompany the expedition as far as the Cape of Good Hope.

The fleet was composed of four vessels, the St. Gabriel (120 tons), commanded by Vasco da Gama, who had, as a sailing master, Pedro de Alenquer, who had been a member of Bartholomew Diaz's expedition, with Diogo Diaz, that explorer's brother, as clerk; the St. Raphael (100 tons), under the command of Paullo da Gama; the Caravel, Berrio (50 tons), so named from her former owner, whose Captain was Nicholas Coellho, and a storeship (200 tons), possibly named the St. Miguel, of these only the St. Gabriel and the Berrio were destined to return to Portugal. The expedition numbered, in all, about 160 men.

Some idea of the appearance of the St. Gabriel may be formed both from a report based on drawings and sketches, believed to be authentic, which was issued by the Portuguese Government on the occasion of the Columbus Centenary, in 1892, and from the famous model of Columbus's own ship, the S. Maria, which figured in the rejoicings to commemorate the Discovery of America both at Huelva and at New York. Like the S. Maria, the S. Gabriel had large fore and stern castles raised high above the waist of the ship, and affording comparatively roomy and commodious cabins. Her rigging consisted of three masts and a bowsprit, her sails being six in number, *viz.*, mizen sail, fore-sail, mizen, spritsail and two topsails. She was a solid sea boat, but slow, and could not sail near the wind. As her bottom was not sheathed in copper, it soon became foul, and consequently the ship required to be frequently careened. The dimensions given in the Portuguese account are: Length at waterline 63 ft. 4 in.; extreme length, 83 ft. 2 in.; beam, 27 ft. 3 in., or about one-third of the extreme length. Draught forward 5 ft. 5 in.; draught aft, 7 ft. 4 in. She carried twenty guns, apparently fired over the bulwarks, and not through portholes, and unprovided with any



means for checking the recoil ; and it was usual, when salutes had to be fired, to discharge petards and blank cartridge suspended over the sides, so as not to shake the ship too much. The largest cannon may have been a twenty-pounder, but she also carried several sakers, falcons, minions and other smaller pieces. In accordance with the orders of Prince Henry the Navigator, when devoting the revenues of the Order of Christ, of which he was Grand Master, to defray the expenses of the task of African discovery, the *S. Gabriel*, like every other Portuguese vessel plying beyond Cape Bojador, flew the flag of the Order, crimson and white, with scalloped edges, and charged with its peculiarly-shaped crimson crosses, and had her sails emblazoned with its cross. In addition, she flew also a white flag, charged with the arms of Don Manoel\* and the red flag, proper to a Portuguese Admiral. Tradition states that her figure head, a well-carved effigy of *S. Gabriel*, is still preserved in the Monastery of Belem, which was raised as a memorial of Vasco da Gama's successful return.

Correia gives a long account, very much at variance with the facts as related in the "*Roteiro*," of the rich cargo and presents for native sovereigns with which the fleet was burdened. As a matter of fact, though the vessels were well provided with provisions, and, in particular, with double sets of anchors, spars, rigging and other naval stores, the expedition appears to have been fitted out with very great economy and to have had on board little or no merchandize of any kind. It was, however, well provided with interpreters ; and many of the seamen had learnt Arabic during their captivity in the hands of Moorish pirates, which was so often the fate of the members of that day. The expedition was also accompanied by 18 "*degredados*," or criminals sentenced to death, who could be used as pioneers or envoys on every undertaking of danger, and who could also be left behind at the various ports and study the languages and habits of the different countries, and thus become useful agents for future expeditions.

By the end of June, 1497, the fleet was in readiness for departure, various vessels, one of which was commanded by Bartholomew Diaz himself, were to sail under its convoy as far as the Cape Verd Islands, on their way to Guinea ; and the anchorage at Restello, a small village about two miles from

---

\* The Arms of Portugal in the time of 'Don Manoel' were "Arg. in five escutcheons Az., charged with five plates, or five "*Golpes*" (lit. "*Wounds*," the heraldic term for Roundelo Purpure").

Lisbon, on the north bank of the Tagus, where the Abbey of Belem (Bethlehem) now rises, was alive with shipping.

It is at this moment that the Author of the "Roteiro" commences his journal, on Saturday, July 8th, 1497.

It is well known that these arms were assumed by Affonso I. (1139-1185), the liberator of Portugal, in memory of a miraculous apparition in the sky, which appeared to him just before the decisive battle of Ourique (1139), in which he vanquished five Moorish kings, and drove the infidels for ever from Portugal. In memory of this victory, he assumed arms which, whilst commemorating the Moorish potentates, might also be interpreted to signify the Five Wounds of Christ, or the Thirty Pieces of Silver (the five "plates" on the centre inescutcheon being counted twice over), which were paid by the Sanhedrin to Judas Iscariot as the price of His Betrayal. A fine explanation of the meaning of the Portuguese Arms, which are usually known as "*As Quinas Reaes*," (lit. The Royal Wedges), is given by Camoens in the *Lusiad*, Canto III, Stanzas 42-54.

The personal arms of D. Manoel were, "Az. an armillary sphere or."

The Journal of the Voyage of Vasco da Gama to India A. D. 1497, by Alvarez Velho.

"In the Name of God," Amen! In the year A. D. 1497, His Majesty Don Manoel,\* in Portugal first of that name, sent out four ships† to go in search of spices, commissioning Vasco da Gama to go as Admiral in command of this fleet, and two other captains with him, named Paullo da Gama, brother of the aforesaid Vasco da Gama, and Nicholas Coellho.

We sailed from Restello‡ on Saturday, July 8th, 1497, and thus set out on our voyage, which may God our Lord, suffer us to bring to a fortunate conclusion, in His Service, Amen.

Our first landfall was on the following Saturday, when we made the Canaries. The same night we passed to leeward of Lanzarote, and at sunrise the next morning were just off Terra Alta,§ where we fished for about two hours. Just at

\* Manuel I, reigned from A. D. 1495 to A. D. 1521.

† The four ships were the St. Gabriel, 120 tons, commanded by Vasco da Gama, the St. Raphael, 100 tons, Captain Paullo da Gama, the Caravel Berria, 50 tons, Captain N. Coellho and a store ship, 200 tons, Captain Ayres Correia, cf. Introduction.

‡ *Restello*, now Belem, is a village on the Tagus, two miles below Lisbon. Lanzarote is the Easternmost Canary,

§ *Terra Alta* is on the mainland, north of Cape Bojador Island.



nightfall that evening we had the mouth of the Rio do Ouro\* opening clear. The sea ran so high during the night that Paulo da Gama and the Admiral, who were in the first and last ships of the convoy, lost sight of the main body of the fleet. As at sunrise we found we had lost sight of the flagship and all the other vessels, we laid our course for the Cape Verde Islands, where we had orders to rendezvous, should any such accident befall us on the voyage out. At daybreak on the following Sunday we were in sight of Sal Island,† and an hour later we sighted three ships. On boarding them we found them to be the store ship, Nicholas Coellho's ship and a vessel commanded by Bartholomew Diaz,‡ which was in our convoy, bound for Elmina,§ all of which had, like ourselves, parted company with the flagship. After rejoining them, we again went on our course; but the wind fell, so we lay becalmed until Wednesday morning at 4 A.M. At 10 A.M. we sighted the Admiral about five leagues before us, and later in the afternoon, to our great joy, ran up alongside and spoke him, and, in our great pleasure at meeting again, fired many salutes and sounded our trumpets. The next day, being Thursday, we reached S. Thiago|| Island, where we anchored off Santa Maria to our great pleasure and contentment. Here we filled up with meat, water and wood, and repaired the main yards of the ships, which were much in want of it. On Friday, August 3rd, we sailed eastwards. On August 18th, whilst we were running before a south wind, the Admiral sprung his main yard; we were at the time about 200 leagues from S. Thiago. For two days and a night we rode under our mizenyard and studying sail. On August 22nd, whilst steering seawards south quarter south-west, we fell in with many birds,¶ very like herons, and at sundown we saw many lines, like flocks of birds flying landwards,\*\* drawing along towards the south south-east. On this same day we saw a whale, although, at the time, we were well eight hundred leagues out at sea.

On Friday, October 27th, being the Vigil of Saints Simon

---

\* An inlet on the Sahara coast between Capes Bojador and Blanco.

† Sal is the Easternmost of the Cape Verd Islands.

‡ Bartholomew Diaz was the first discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope A. D. 1486.

§ Elmina, "The Mine," is on the Gold Coast, eight miles west from Cape Coast Castle.

|| S. Thiago is the well known coaling station in the Cape Verd Islands.

¶ Probably frigate Birds.

\*\* "Birds flying landwards" were always looked out for eagerly by mariners of those days, in the belief that no sea bird ever flew more than 200 miles from land. It is now known that many kinds will follow shoals of fish for hundreds of miles out to sea.

and Jude, we saw many whales and some of the animals sailors call seals and sea-calves.

All Saints' Day, Wednesday, November 1st, we saw many signs of land, as quantities of sargasso weeds, such as grow upon the shore, floated past.

Two hours before daybreak on Saturday, November 4th, we found bottom in 110 fathoms, and at 9 A. M. we sighted land. Upon this, we all drew close together and saluted the Admiral by hoisting many pennons and flags, and firing our bombards and we all put on our holiday clothes. As we did not know the coast, we stood on and off shore during the whole day.

On Tuesday, we stood in towards the land and made a low-lying coast opening out into a great bay. The Admiral ordered Pedro d'Alenquer to go in a boat to take soundings and see if he could find a good anchorage. He found a very good one, clean and sheltered from every wind save the North-East. It lies due East and West. We named it St. Helena Bay.\*

We anchored in this bay on the Wednesday, and lay there eight days to careen the ships, mend the sails, and fill up with wood.

Five leagues to the South-East of this bay is a river which flows down from the interior. It is a stone's throw wide at the mouth and about two or three fathoms deep. Its current is somewhat strong. We named it the Santiago River.†

This country is peopled by a race of dark men who live upon nothing but sea-calves, whales and gazelle meat with a few roots of herbs. They are clothed in skins and wear some curious ivory ornaments, like sheaths. Their arms are horns, hardened in the fire and fastened to elderwood stakes. They own quantities of dogs, which are very like our Portuguese ones and bark like them.

The birds here are very like those of Portugal. Amongst them are Cornish choughs, Cape pigeons, rock doves and crested larks, with many others. The climate is healthy and pleasant; the vegetation luxuriant.

The day after we had anchored, a Thursday, we went inland with the Admiral and captured one of the natives. He was a small-made man very like Sancho Mixiaa, and was taking honey in the sandy plain, for the bees in that country hive in the roots of the bushes. We brought him on board the flagship, and the Admiral made him sit down to table with him. He ate everything we did. Next day the Admiral dressed him

---

\* The well-known St. Helena Bay, in Piquetberg, Cape Colony. Correia makes them enter the mouth of the Orange River.

† Now Berg River, the boundary between Piquetberg and Malmesbury.



out very finely, and had him set on shore again. The day after, fourteen or fifteen natives came to the beach off which the ships were lying. The Admiral went on shore, and showed them samples of many different kinds of merchandize in order to find out if any of them were to be found in those parts. Amongst the samples he showed them were cinnamon, cloves, seed pearls, gold and such like things. They did not understand in the least what he meant, but seemed like men who had never seen anything of the sort before; so the Admiral gave them some hawk's bells and tin rings. This took place on the Friday. We again tried the same plan next day. On the Sunday about forty to fifty of them came down; so we went on shore after breakfast, taking with us some trifles, with which we bought some shells they wore in their ears, which looked as if they had been silvered, and some foxes' brushes which they had fastened in sticks and used to fan their faces with. I bought one of their curious sheaths for a trinket. We thought they must attach some value to copper, as they wore splinters of it in their ears.

This same day one Fernan Velloso, who had gone on shore with the Admiral, was seized with a great desire to accompany the natives to their huts and see their way of living. His prayers and entreaties became so pressing that the Admiral, seeing no other way of relieving himself from his importunity, suffered him to do so; so Fernan Velloso went away with them whilst we went back on board the flagship to supper. After the natives left us, they took a sea-calf and sat down near the foot of a hillock in a sandy place and roasted it. They shared their meal, which consisted of the flesh of the sea-calf and some roots, with Fernan Velloso, who was still with them. After eating, they told him to go back to the ships, as they would not let him remain with them any longer. He did so, and, directly he reached the beach off which the fleet was lying, began to shout lustily, whilst the natives stayed in hiding in the bush near, to watch him. We were still at table; but when we heard his cries, the Captains at once sprang up, and we with them, and got into the sailing boat to go and see what was the matter. Thereupon the blacks began to run along the beach and caught up Fernan Velloso, just as we came up to him. When they saw we wished to take him back on board, they began hurling the assegais they were carrying at us, and wounded the Admiral and three or four men. This would not have happened if we had not been foolish enough to put ourselves in their power by going on shore without arms, because we thought them by no means warlike in their dispositions. On this we went back on board.

After careening and refitting our ships and filling up with wood, we sailed from St. Helena Bay, on Friday morning, November 16th, as we did not know how far we were from the Cape of Good Hope. It is true Pedro 'd Alenquer\* kept telling us that we were at most only some thirty leagues to the North-East of it; but we could not be quite certain as to his accuracy, as, on his voyage home, he had sailed from the Cape early one morning and had passed this place late the same night, whilst the expedition had kept well out at sea on their way out. As we could not, then, be quite sure where we were, we stood out to see with a South South-East wind, and on the following Saturday afternoon sighted the Cape of Good Hope. This day we stood out to sea, and steered in the evening on the inward tack towards land. On Sunday morning we were again up with the Cape,† but could not round it, because the wind was South-East, and the Cape lies North-East and South-West; so at night we again tacked out to sea, and on the Monday night again stood in towards land. At last, at noon on the Wednesday, we passed the Cape on a course close in shore with a stern wind. Quite near the Cape of Good Hope, to the South, lies a very large bay,‡ which runs a good six leagues into the land and is just about the same width across the mouth.

On Saint Catherine's Day, Saturday afternoon, November 25th, we entered St. Bras § Bay, where we remained thirteen days, to break up the storeship and transfer her stores on board the other ships.

On the following Friday, whilst we were still in St. Bras Bay, about ninety dark men, very like those we had met at St. Helena Bay, came down. Some of them walked along the beach, whilst the others waited about on the hills.|| All or nearly all of us were at the time on board the flagship. As soon as we saw the natives, we went on shore with the boats, which we took good care were very well armed; and, when we got close in, the Admiral kept throwing them hawks' bells on to the beach, close to the edge of the waves; and they followed us, stopping to pick them up, and at last plucked up the courage to come into the water and take them out of

---

\* Pedro d'Alenquer, who was a nobleman belonging to the King's Household, had been with Bartholomew Diaz on the expedition on which the Cape of Good Hope was discovered in 1486, and was now Sailing Master of the S. Gabriel, Vasco da Gama's Flagship.

† Cape Point, the southern extremity of the Cape Peninsula.

‡ False Bay, between Cape Point and Cape Hangklip, to the east of the Cape Peninsula.

§ Now Mossel Bay.

|| A low ridge of hills behind the town of Aliwal South, running down to Cape St. Blaize.



his hand. Their conduct greatly astonished us; for, when Bartholomew Diaz was here, they use to run away from him and would not take anything he offered them. On the contrary, one day when his crews were on shore watering at a spring of very good water there is here close to the edge of the sea, they kept trying to drive them off by throwing stones at them from a hillock above the spring; so he shot at them with a cross-bow and killed one of them. We thought the reason why they did not run away must be that they had already heard of us from the St. Helena Bay natives whom we had previously seen, for the distance by sea from the one place to the other is only sixty leagues. They would thus have learnt that we should do them no harm, and that we were also very free-handed with our gifts. As there was a very large stretch of bush at the back of the beach hereabouts, the Admiral would not land here, but made us row on and land at another place which was more open. He accordingly made signs to the blacks to come along and meet us, which they did. The Admiral and his captains went on shore with an armed escort, some of whom carried cross-bows. As it was not desirable that the natives should come close up to us, the Admiral made them signs to keep away, and only allowed two or three of them to approach. He made those who came a present of hawk's bells and scarlet caps and they gave us, in return, some of the ivory bracelets they wore; for elephants, at least so we thought, are very plentiful in this country, and, indeed, we often use to find their dung round the spring where they drank.

On Saturday, about two hundred native men and boys came down, bringing with them about twelve head of cattle, both cows and oxen, with four or five sheep. We went on shore directly they came in sight. They greeted us with a concert of four or five flutes, some taking alto and others bass, and, altogether, giving us a very fine performance for niggers, whom one does not expect to be finished musicians, and also danced some native dances. To return the compliment, the Admiral bade our trumpets strike up, and we danced a hornpipe in the boats, led by the Admiral himself. After this entertainment was over, we again went on shore, and, for three bracelets bought a black ox, on which we made our Sunday breakfast. It was very fat, and the beef was as tasty as if it had been bred in Portugal.

On the Sunday about 200 more natives came, bringing their wives and young children with them. The women staid on the top of a hill near the sea, whilst their husbands kept driving in cows and oxen, and then they made two camps on the shore and played and danced as they had done on the Saturday. It

was their custom that the boys should stay in the bush with the arms, whilst the men came down and speak with us, only carrying some short staves\* and fox brushes stuck in cleft sticks, which they use to fan their faces with. Whilst we were conversing with them by signs, we saw the boys stealing towards us through the bush with the arms. On this the Admiral ordered a man, named Martin Affonso, who had once been in Manicongo †, to go and buy an ox from them for some bracelets. Directly he had given them the bracelets, they took him by the hand and led him to a spring, saying that, in payment for the bracelets, they would give us leave to water there, and, then, at once began to drive the oxen back into the bush. The Admiral, seeing what they were after, bade us draw together and hailed Martin Affonso to come back to us, as he thought they must be preparing to attack us. After we had come together we went back where we were before, with the whole mob following at our heels. The Admiral then sent us on shore fully armed, in our corslets, with lances, javelins and crossbows with arrows laid, just to show them what we could do to them if we chose, though we did not want to harm them. When they saw us coming, they began to run together in a great hurry; so orders were given for us to go back on board the boats, as the Admiral was afraid of our killing any of them by accident. As a further proof of our power, he also made us, directly we were on board, fire off two cannon which were in the sternsheets of the boats. At the moment the natives were all seated together on the beach close to the bush; but directly heard the guns go off, they made so straight for cover that they left their skin wraps and arms behind them, and two of them had to come back again to pick them up, whilst the rest ran away to the top of a hill near, driving their cattle before them.

The country oxen are very large and much like those of our Alemtejo. ‡ They are amazingly fat and very gentle. They are all bullocks. Some of them are harmless. The natives use the strongest of them as riding-oxen. They use saddle cloths of coarse slack cloth, very like those we see in Castille, on the top of which they put some pieces of wood shaped like the poles of a litter. When they wish to sell them,

---

\* Knobkerries. Jackall tails stick in cleft sticks are still used by Voorloopers as fly flaps for their oxen.

† Manicongo was the powerful kingdom, at the mouth of the Congo, which at this time extended up the river as far as the mouth of the Aruwhimi. In the 16th and 17th centuries it was Christianised by the Jesuits and Capuchins and became a valuable fief of the Portuguese Crown. It is now represented by the town and province of San Salvador, the northernmost province of the Portuguese Colony of Angola.

‡ The province south of the Tagus between that river and the Algarves.



they pass a cistus stalk through their nostrils and lead them by it to market.

There is an islet in the bay three bowshots off shore, on which are many sea-calves. Some of them are as large as very large bears. They have very large teeth and are most courageous, as they came close up to our men. It is impossible to pierce them with a lance, however hard one may thrust. There is another kind, which is smaller, and a third much smaller still. The large ones roar like lions, and the smaller, bleat like kids. We went over for a trip to the islet one day, and what with large and small ones saw about 3,000 of them. We used to shoot at them from our boats with our cannon. On this same island we saw some birds, about the size of ducks, which cannot fly, as they have no feathers on their flappers. They are called penguins. We killed as many of them as we pleased. Their cry sounds like the braying of an ass.

Whilst we were still in Saint Braz Bay, filling up with water, one Wednesday, we set up a cross and a stone beacon.\* We made the cross, which was a very lofty one, out of a spare top-yard. The very next day, just as we were sailing from the bay, we saw ten or twelve blacks throw down both cross and beacon, even before we had got clear of the roadstead.

After taking on board all the supplies we needed, we sailed from Saint Braz Bay, but anchored again the same day some two leagues beyond our former anchorage, because it had fallen dead calm. On Friday, the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, we made sail at daybreak and went on our way. On the following Tuesday, we fell in with a great storm and were forced to run before the gale with our topsail close hauled. Whilst on this tack we lost Nicholas Coelho for the whole day from sunrise to sunset, when we sighted him from the topmast at four or five leagues astern of us. Thinking he had sighted us, we lighted our lanterns and let go one anchor. Just at the end of the first watch he ran up to us, not that he had sighted us before sunset, but because he could only get a sidewind, and so had, of course, to steer in our wake.

On Friday morning we sighted land, which turned out to be what they call the Low Islands, which are five leagues

---

\* These stone beacons, or Padrams, were square pillars marked on one side with the arms of Portugal, on the other with the name of the ship, which the Portuguese explorers use to take with them to erect at any remarkable place they come to. Several of them, such as the Padram erected by Diego Cam, in 1484, on the south point of the Congo estuary, and that set up by Vasco da Gama himself at the entrance to Mehnde harbour, are still well known. They also have the inscription "Lordship of the Crown of Portugal, a Christian kingdom." (Correia).

beyond Saint Croix Island. It is sixty leagues from Saint Braz Bay to Saint Croix Island, and the same distance from Cape Point to Saint Braz Bay. From the Low Islands to the place where Bartholomew Diaz set up his last beacon is another five leagues, whilst from this beacon to the Rio do Ynfante is fifteen leagues.

On the Saturday following we passed the last beacon, and, whilst running close in shore, saw two men come running along the beach from the opposite direction, as if to meet us. The country is most beautiful, and we could see many herds of cattle grazing on the coast hills. The further east we went, the better got the country and the thicker the woods.

On the next night, we were riding on one anchor off the Rio de Ynfante, which was the point where Bartholomew Diaz turned back, and on the next day we ran on along the coast with a stern wind until vesper time, when the wind suddenly veered eastward, so we put out to sea and kept standing on and off along the coast until about sunset on the Tuesday, when our wind shifted back to the west. That night we again anchored, so that next day we might land and ascertain our position.\*

At sunrise we saw we were lying within an arrow-shot of the shore, and at 10 A. M. we found ourselves just up with St. Croix Island, which showed that we were just sixty leagues out in our reckoning. The fact was we had been set back by the very strong currents† hereabouts, so this day we had to sail back again over the course which we had already traversed. Fortunately we got a good stern wind, which held for three or four days, and helped us to break the back of the currents, which, for a time, seemed almost as if they would have prevented us from reaching the goal which we so longed to see. From that day forth, however, God in His Mercy suffered us to go forwards and not backwards, and may it be His will ever to grant us so prosperous a journey.

By Christmas Day, December 25th, we had discovered seventy leagues of new coast, reckoning from the Rio de Ynfante. After breakfast on that day, whilst we were spreading a studding-sail, we found that the main mast was sprung about six feet below the top mast, and that the crack was opening and closing. To make it hold until we could find some sheltered harbour where we could anchor and thoroughly repair it, we spliced it up with lashings as well

---

\* When latitudes were taken with the Jacob's staff, or Cross staff and astrolabe, it was always necessary to go on shore to take observations, as these instruments could not be used on board ship on account of the motion.



as we could. On the Friday we lay to off the coast and got a quantity of fish, and at sundown made sail again and went on our way. Here we lost an anchor, as the chain got broken by a sudden pitch of the ship. From this point we laid our course far out at sea and did not enter any harbour, so that we ran short of water, and not only had to use salt water in the galley, but to put ourselves on an allowance of a pint a day. This at last forced us to put in somewhere, so when, on Thursday, January 10th, 1498, we sighted a little river, we anchored off the coast. Next day we went on shore in the boats, and found there many black men and women, amongst whom was a chief. On this the Admiral ordered Martin Affonso, the man who had lived so long in Manicongo, to land with another sailor; and the natives gave them a hearty welcome. Martin Affonso took with him, as a present to the chief, a doublet and a pair of scarlet hose, a hood and a bracelet. The chief said he would gladly give us anything his country produced which might be of use to us. Martin Affonso found he could understand what he said, and went off with his companion to stay the night at his kraal, whilst we went on board again. On his way back home, the chief put on the clothes we had given him, and kept saying again and again in the greatest delight to the natives who came out to meet him: "See, see what they have given me!" At this they clapped their hands over and over again as a homage to him, and repeated this ceremony three or four times. When he reached the kraal, he strutted through the whole place in his new clothes, but at last went into his own hut, where he ordered our two men to be lodged in a part which was screened off, and sent them some porridge made of millet, of which there is an abundance in these parts, and a chicken, just like those we have in Portugal. All through the night numbers of men and women kept coming to see them, and at daybreak the chief himself came to them and gave them some chickens for the Admiral, with a message, that he was going off to show his presents to a great chief of theirs who lived near, and who, we thought, must be the king of the country. By the time our men reached the harbour, where our ships were lying, they had about two hundred natives running after them who had come to see them.

We thought that this country must be very well peopled and have many chiefs, and also that there must be far more women than men in it, for amongst those who came to see us there were at least two women for every man. The houses here are built of straw, and the men are armed with very large

bows and arrows and iron assagays. It must abound in copper, as most of the natives wore bracelets, anklets, and head ornaments, twisted in their wool, of this metal. As they were wearing tin wristlets, it is probable that tin is found here. Ivory sheaths are also worn. These natives set great store by linen cloth, and would give us large quantities of copper for one of our shirts. They have large calabashes in which they carry sea water into the veldt, when they pour it into holes in the ground and evaporate it for salt. We staid five days to water, and the natives who had come to see us carried the puncheons for us to the boats. You must remember we had not been able to water when we wished to do so, as we had had to drive on before the wind. We lay here just outside the line of breakers. The country we named the "Land of Good People," and the river "Copper River."\*

On the next Monday, whilst we were running far out at sea, we sighted a low coast, thickly wooded with high timber †, and whilst still steering on the same course, we saw a river with a very wide mouth.† As we did not know our exact position, we lay to, and on Friday at sunset ran into it and found the brig Berrio lying there, having arrived the day before. This was on January 24th. The land hereabouts lies very low and is much cut up with marshy pools. It abounds in large trees, yielding fruit of different kinds, on which the natives live.

---

\* The Mozambique current.

† "Seventy Leagues of new coast" would at most bring them up with the Umtamvuna River, the boundary of Rondoland and Alfred County, Natal. It is perfectly clear from this account that da Gama could not have discovered Port Natal on December 25th, 1497. It may even be doubted if he sighted the Bluff, as it seems probable that the fishing ground he mentions was the Aliwal Shoal, which is between thirty and forty miles south of Durban. From here he sailed at sundown and laid his course for out at sea. His silence as to the Bluff can, therefore, very reasonably be accounted for by the fact that he either passed [it at night or else was so far out at sea, when off that part of the Natal coast, that he could not see it. If it be true that the Rio do Cobre is the Inhampura River, now known as the Limpopo, and not either the Rio Manice or the Rio da Logoa, now the Umbelazi, on which Louren Co. Marquez stands, it is obvious that, to make such a landfall, he must, on leaving the southern coast of Natal, have kept very far out at sea, and, at most, have got but a distant glimpse of the coast at Cape Vidal or at the entrance to Santa Lucia Bay. This course would likewise account for his otherwise inexplicable silence about Tuyack Island and Delagoa Bay. De Barros, who is our earliest informant of the fact that Natal was named "Terra Natalis," from its discovery on Christmas Day 1497 (in Portuguese *Dia do Natal*), did not write until 1547, fifty years later, at the earliest. The fact that Santa Lucia Bay, like Port Natal, is named from a Church festival, and that St. Lucy's Day is December 13th, renders it very probable that Natal was really discovered by a surveying expedition sent south from Sofala after the Portuguese occupation of the place under Pedro De Nharia, in 1508, which had explored the Zululand coast before reaching the Natal coast.



The natives here are black. They are strong, well made men and quite naked, but for some small cotton waist cloths. Their chiefs wear the same aprons, only larger. Their unmarried women, who are very well looking, have their cheeks pierced in three places, and wear pieces of tin, with the ends twisted back, stuck through them. They seemed very pleased to see us and brought us down to the ships what supplies they had, in troughs hollowed out from solid pieces of timber. Here, too, we went up to their village to get water.

Two or three days after our arrival, two of the chiefs \* came to see us ; but they turned out to be so high and mighty that they looked upon our presents as mere nothings. One of them had a cap embroidered in bright silks stuck on his head. The other was wearing a green satin hood. With this same chief came a youth who, they showed us by signs, was from a distant country. He told us he had already seen ships as large as ours. These tokens of approaching civilisation gave us very great pleasure, as they proved that we were already nearing our long-sought-for goal. The lords ordered huts of woven branches to be put up on the river bank over against the ships and lodged in them for seven days, sending down to us every day to bargain for cloths, † printed with red ochre. When they had got tired of the place, they went off up the river in pirogues. We stayed in this river two and thirty days, during which we filled up with water, careened the ships and repaired the Saint Raphael's main mast. Here many of our men fell sick. Their hands and feet swelled, and their gums swelled over their teeth so that they could not eat. At the entrance to this river we set up a beacon, which we named Saint Raphael's beacon, because it had been brought out on board the flag-ship, and we christened the River, the River of Good Omens, ‡ or Good Tokens.

We sailed from here on Saturday, February 24th. That day we stood out to sea, and the next day due east, so that we might give a wide berth to the coast, which was very beautiful

\* The guillimane entrance to the Zambezi. The coast line sighted between the Inhampura and Zambezi Rivers is that about Beira and the mouth of the Pongwe River in the Provinces of Inhambane and Sofalla, Portuguese East Africa. . .

. They had passed the Sofalla River by night. According to Correia, one of these chiefs, who went on with them to Mozambique, was a Mohammedan broker from Cambay named Davane.

† Linen cloths printed with coloured patterns were known in Europe as early as the 14th century. A very elaborate one made for an overmantel, belonging to the Town of Soleure, which was said to date from the early part of the 15th century, was shown at the Swiss National Exhibition at Geneva in 1896. Similar elaborate hangings are mentioned by Camoens in *Lusiad* VIII, 1-43.

‡ Rio dos Bons Signaes. Lit. The River of Good Signs, called by Correia, Rio da Misericordia (Mercy).

from the sea. On Sunday we ran north-east, and at vesper time sighted a group of three small islands\*, two of which were well wooded, whilst the smallest was bare. They lie about four leagues apart. As it was dusk, we stood out to sea and passed them in the night. For the next six days we kept well out at sea standing on and off the land at night. On the afternoon of Thursday, March 1st, we sighted some islands † and the coast of the mainland, which stretches out beyond them. As it was about sunset at the time, we steered out to sea and lay to until daybreak, when we entered the country I am now going to describe.

On Friday morning Nicholas Coelho, whilst beating into the bay, mistook the channel, and, finding himself in shoal water, put about towards the other ships, which were following in his wake. Whilst he was doing so, some sailing boats stood out from the town which lies inside that island; so the Admiral and his brother ran up and saluted them with great pleasure. We let ourselves drift out seawards to find an anchorage, but the further we went, the more eagerly they followed, making signals to us with their cloaks to wait for them. Just as we were dropping anchor in the lagoon formed by the island from which the ship was coming, seven or eight of these boats and pirogues ran alongside of us, with their crews clashing some kettle drums they had on board, and told us to make our way into the harbour, as they would pilot us inside if we wished. They then came on board and shared our meal. When they had got tired of our company, they went away again, and the captains held a council of war and agreed to run into the bay to find out who these people were. It was arranged that Nicholas Coelho should go on in front, with his ship, to sound the bar, and if he found there was water enough for them to cross it, that they should go inside. As Nicholas Coelho was beating in, he took the ground on the point of the island, and broke his rudder; but the moment he felt himself touching, he backed out again into deep water, and I was there with him. We furled our sails, as we were backing into the channel, and dropped anchor about two hackbut shots away from the town.

The natives of the country are of a bright copper colour, and are strongly and stoutly built. They are of the sect of

---

\* Angoche Island, between the mouth of the Zambesi and Mozambique, with the group, a little to the south, of Primeira and Camarina or Raza Islands.

† The Islands of Mozambique. St. George's Island lies at the entrance of Mozambique Harbour. Mass Island, where the Portuguese said mass, lies near it. There are three islands in all in the group. The name of St. George was given to the group because the mass was said in his honour.



Mohammed, and their language is like the Moorish.\* They wear linen and cotton clothes of very fine stuff striped in various colours, and richly ornamented with embroidery. They all wear caps on their heads worked with bright silks woven with gold thread. They are merchants, and trade with white Moors, † who had three or four ships in the place, at the time of our arrival, which had brought cargoes of gold, silver, cloth, ginger, silver rings, pearls, seed pearls and rubies, all of which are also brought here by the natives of the mainland. We gathered, indeed, from what they said, that most of these wares were brought down to the coast from the interior by caravan, and that the Moors only brought the gold. Further northwards, up the coast, they said, there was a great deal of it, and added that precious stones, seed pearls, and spices were so plentiful in those parts, that there was no need to buy them, as they could be picked up in baskets full. One of the sailors on board the flagship, who had once been a captive amongst the Moors, and learnt the language during his captivity, could understand those we found here very well. The Moors also told us that, if we held on the course we were steering, we should fall in with many banks and shoals, and that we should also find many cities along the coast, and reach an island, half the inhabitants

---

\* "*Como Maurio*," i. e., like the Spanish Moors, or Moriscos. The Arabic spoken by the Arabian and Indian Mahommedans is called by Vasco da Gama "*Arravia*." Many of the Spanish Moors prided themselves on their descent from the natives of Yemen, from which country most of the so-called "*Mouros*," i. e., Arabs on the East Coast of Africa also came. The dialect spoken in Yemen is very different from that of the Koreish tribe of Mecca, in which the Koran is written. The "*White Moors*" were probably traders from Jeddah and Mecca, whose journeys extended, according to Pedro de Covilham, at least as far as Sofalla, whence, according to Correia, caravans went inland to Manica, if not to Zimbabwe itself. Pearls are found at the Bazamto Islands, south of Mozambique.

According to Mr. C. Raymond Beazley ("The Dawn of Modern Geography" Lond. 1897, page 194,) quoting Cosmas Indicopleustes (Top. Christ. bk. II, pp. 138, 139 Monti,) a traveller of the age of Justinian, who visited the Indian Ocean about A.D. 527, "Condiments and spices were exported in large quantities from the equatorial, "or incense," coasts of Africa. The trade went by sea and the products were taken to Adulis or Adule in Abyssinia" (a kingdom which, in the sixth century A. D., included Khartoum), to the Homerites of Yemen in Arabia, to Persia and to India. But besides spices, Cosmas adds, this land of Barbary "bordering on the ocean of the Blacks or Zani, as they call themselves," which was known to the ancients at least as far as the Rhaptum Promontary, Cabo Delgado, or, perhaps, even Cape Corrientes), brings forth gold in abundance, and year by year the king of Axum in Abyssinia sends merchants to procure what they can of it." The gold lands were some distance in the interior, and could only be reached by caravans, which carried on trade by a curious system of barter. Emeralds were procured by the Abyssinians from the Blemmyes, a tribe on the White Nile above Khartoum; but rubies are not mentioned. These Abyssinian traders were the legitimate predecessors of the "*White Moors*," Vasco da Gama met at Mozambique.

† According to Fra Mauras's Map, in 1430 the King of Habesh (Abaxic) owned possession on the coast as far south as Zanzibar.

of which were Moors and half Christians, \* who were always at war with one another, and that in this island there were great riches.

They also said that Prester John's country † was very near theirs, and that he held many of the coast towns, which were inhabited by great traders who had large ships, but that Prester John himself lived far inland, and that they could only reach his capital by camel. In fact, they had brought with them two slaves who were Indian Christians. These tidings filled our hearts with such gladness that we wept for very joy, and prayed God that He might give us health, so that we might see what we were so longing for.

In this town and island, which is called Mozambique, was a chief whom the natives call Sultan, who held a post like that of one of our Viceroys.‡ He used often to come on board, with some of his followers. The Admiral used to give him very good dinners and made him presents of hats, short cloaks, coral and many other things. He was, however, so high and mighty that he turned up his nose at all our presents and begged us to give him some scarlet cloth, of which, unfortunately, we had none with us. However we gave him the best we had.

One day the Admiral made him a banquet of many kinds of comfits and preserves, and begged him to give us two pilots to go with us. He said he would gladly do so if the men themselves would consent to go; so the Admiral arranged with them to do so for thirty meticals § of gold, and two short cloaks a-piece, on the express condition that, from the day of payment until the departure of the fleet from Mozambique, one or the other of them should always remain on board our ships. To

---

\* *Christians.* The Christians on the East African Coast were either Abyssinians or Nestorians. In the fifteenth century the Galla tribes, at least as far south as the Webbi, were still Christians, and remains of Christianity of the Abyssinian type also existed in Nubia. Before Mahomedanism began to spread in Equatorial Africa in the eighth century, Christians were to be found even in the Valley of the Niger at Jermé, possibly at Boussa, where certain relics of Christian teaching are alleged still to exist. In the eighth century, if not much later, there was a Nestorian Bishopric at Socotra, owing allegiance to the Patriarch of Bagdad, whilst in the same century all the Malabar Coast, including Calicut itself, were Christians.

† Prester John, in this passage, is, of course, the king of Abyssinia. It is uncertain whether the two Indian Christians were from our present India or from Abyssinia, which Alvarez Velho speaks of as "*A India Baxa*" (Lower India). He also calls the inhabitants of the Somali Coast "*Ingros*" (Indians).

‡ The Sultan of Mozambique ruled as Viceroy (Sheikh) for the king of Kilwa who, at the time of Vasco da Gama's voyage, was the most powerful sovereign on the East African Coast. His dominion extended over the "Mahommedans of Sofala, the Zambezi, Angoya, (our Angoche) and Mozambique." Cf. Duarte Barbosa s. v. Quiloa, and Correia in loc.

§ A metical is  $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of an English drachm. It is an Egyptian measure. According to de Goes, a metical of gold was worth 420 reis, or 2s.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. in modern currency. According to de Barros 30 meticals were worth 14 Milreis or £3-3-0. A sovereign in Portugal is legally current at par for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  Milreis.



this they both gladly consented. We sailed on Saturday, March 10th, and anchored off an island about a league out at sea, as we wished to land there on the morrow, to have mass said, and to give an opportunity to those who wished to confess and receive the sacrament.

One of the pilots lived on this island ; so, as soon as we had dropped anchor, we sent out two boats to fetch him. The Admiral went with one of them and Nicholas Coelho with the other. Just as they were rowing in shore, five or six ships put out to meet them, crowded with men armed with bows, long arrows and small wooden bucklers. Seeing this, the Admiral at once seized hold of the pilot whom he had with him, and ordered his men to fire the bombards in the stern sheets at the ships. Paullo da Gama, who had remained on board our ships to survey them for repairs, made sail at once in the Berrio when he heard our bombards, but the Moors, who were already sheering off, on seeing the ship stand in, plied their oars might and main, and got on shore before she could come up with them ; so we went back to our anchorage. On Sunday we heard mass in the island, under a very high tree. After mass we went back on board and set sail at once on our voyage, after loading up with hens, goats and pigeons, which we had bought in the island for some yellow glass beads.

The country ships here are large, have no decks, and are put together without nails, as they are sewn with fibre thread. Their boats are built in the same way. Palm leaf mats are used as sails. The crews use compasses,\* by which they steer their course, quadrants and mariners' charts.

The palm trees in this country yield fruit as large as melons. The pith inside is eaten. It tastes like hazel kernels. They have also melons of many kinds and water-melons which they brought us for sale.

The day Nicholas Coelho ran in, the Sultan of the city came on board with a large suite. Coelho gave him a most courteous reception and made him a present of a scarlet hood, in return for which the chief gave him some black beads, he used as a rosary, as a pledge of his friendship, at the same time begging the loan of the ships' long boat to go ashore in ; so his request was at once granted. When the Sultan got on shore, he took those of our men who had gone with him to his own house and invited them in. When they went back on board, they brought Nicholas Coelho a pot of crushed dates,

---

\* "*Agulhas Genojocas.*" Lit. "Genoese needles." The compass was originally introduced into Portugal by mariners from Genoa in the time of King Diniz A. D. 1279-1325, who was the first Portuguese sovereign to encourage navigation. The Arab sailors of the Indian Ocean had learnt the use of the compass from the Chinese as early as the ninth century A. D.

preserved with cloves and cinnamon for him. He also subsequently sent the Admiral quantities of presents. It seems he was so generous because he thought we were Moors, or Turks, from some other country.

As every one in Mozambique believed the same, they kept pestering us by asking us if we came from Turkey and by wanting to see our Turkish bows \* and the books of our Law. When, however, they found out we were Christians, they kept making plans to take us by surprise and kill us. However, the pilot whom we were taking with us, used to tell us of all their conspiracies against us before they could carry them into execution.

On the following Tuesday we sighted a coast † with lofty mountains rising behind a point, thinly fringed along the shore with high trees like elms. This country can only be about 20 leagues from our point of departure. Here we lay becalmed all Tuesday and Wednesday. Wednesday night we stood out to sea against a gentle breeze from the east, and at daybreak, found ourselves about five leagues below Mozambique. We sailed on all day until the afternoon and then anchored close in to the island where we had heard mass the Sunday before. Here we lay eight days waiting for fine weather. During our stay there the king of Mozambique sent us a message, that he wished to make peace with us and to become our friend. His envoy on this occasion was a white Moor, who was one of their scheriffs or priests and a good bottleman. A Moor also came on board one of our ships, with his little son, and said he wished to go with us, as he was from near Mecca and had come down to Mozambique as pilot to a country ship. Though the wind was anything but favourable, we had again to run into Mozambique harbour to fill up with water. The drinking water here is brought from the mainland, as on the island there is nothing but brackish water.

On Friday we ran in again to the port, and, when it was pitch dark, sent out the boats. As it was my night on watch, the Admiral, with Nicholas Coelho and some others of us, went to see where the watering place was. We took with us, the Moorish pilot who was much more anxious to find a chance of escaping from us whilst on shore than to help us to find the

---

\* The Turkish cross bows were famous in the Middle Ages. Even as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century some of the Janissaries were armed with bows.

† Probably Cape Melamo and Logono Peak, on the coast of the province of the Portuguese East Africa. Mounts Pao and Meza are more southern peaks of the same range.



spring. Indeed, he lost his way so completely that he could not show us whereabouts it was. Possibly he was not over-anxious to do so, so we wandered about on shore until day broke. We then went back aboard, but landed again after nightfall with the same pilot. When we were close to the spring, about twenty natives, with javelins in their hands, came along the beach in skirmishing order, to prevent us from watering; so the Admiral ordered three cannonshots to be fired at them, to keep them off whilst we were on shore. The moment the shots were fired, they ran and hid themselves in the bush; so we filled up with water and got back on board at sunrise. On our return, we found a negro belonging to the Sailing Master John\* of Coimbra had run away.

*(To be continued.)*

---

\* John of Coimbra was the Sailing Master of the St. Raphael.

ART. XI—THE TOPOGRAPHY OF GOVINDA  
DAS'S DIARY.

GOVIND DAS'S diary was written at a time most important for the history of India, and especially of the Deccan and Southern India. The history of India means the fusion of a very large number of independent political entities into one vast empire, immediately followed by the dismemberment of that empire, resulting in the establishment of numerous small compact kingdoms. The Pathan Empire, which, in 1309, comprehended nearly the whole of India, may be said to have come to an end with the death of Mahmud Tughlak, *alias* Juna Khan, in 1351. Northern India was divided into nearly twenty independent kingdoms, some Hindu, others Mahomedan. But in Southern India and the Deccan the dismemberment of the Pathan Empire brought about two large independent kingdoms, the Bahmani Kingdom of Bidar, and the Hindu Kingdom of Bijayanagar. The one extended from the Tapti to the Krishna, the other from the Krishna to Cape Comorin.

Govinda's diary was written in the year 1508-9. The Bahmani Kingdom was then in the midst of its last struggle for existence. Already three kingdoms had been carved out from its provinces by rebellious generals. Bijapur, Ahmednagar, and the Berars had already been in existence for more than twenty years. The Kutub Shahis were only awaiting the death of Kasim Bari to throw off their allegiance to the Bahmani Empire, which sat but very loosely upon them. Kasim Bari, too, was waiting for an opportunity to create a kingdom for himself at the very capital of the Bahmani Empire.

The dynasty of Hindu princes who, during the middle of the 14th century, founded an empire in Southern India and gave a new impetus to the Hindu religion, and a new life to Hindu institutions under the guidance of the great scholars, Sáyana, Madhava, and others, was now represented by weak princelings who were tools in the hands of powerful and designing ministers.

At both the Hindu and the Mahomedan Capitals, therefore, turbulence and crime were the order of the day. The more distant conquests of both these great kingdoms were fast falling away from their hands, and petty chiefs were advancing inconvenient claims on these remote territories.

Govinda's route lay generally through the coast countries; and these were almost wholly, from Bengal to Sind, in the



hands of the Hindus. Petty Hindu Chiefs in the Sunderbunds held the whole coast of Bengal, from Chittagong to the north of the Ganges. These small chiefs gave way, sixty years later, to the rising power of Vikramaditya and his son, Pratapaditya, of Jasohar, in the Sunderbunds. The Uriyas, who as yet had never owed allegiance to a Mahomedan, held the whole coast from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Godaveri. The currency of the Utkala era in the Tumlook and Contai Sub-divisions still testifies to the fact that the Uriyas were at one time supreme in this part of the country. The coasts near the mouth of the Godaveri were occupied for a time by the Bahmanies, under their great Minister, Khauja Mahmud Gawan, who, taking advantage of the dissensions in the Orissa royal family, took possession of Kandapille and Rajmahendri about the year 1471. But the Minister was murdered in 1481; there was nobody to follow up the advantage he had gained in this direction, and the kings of Orissa lost no time in recovering these important outposts.

Between the Godaveri and the Krishna the coast line was in a most unsettled state. The kingdom of Warrangul, which included it, was destroyed in 1434 by Ahammad Shah Bahmani. But the city still held out, and the Hindu Chiefs sold their lives dear, rather than submit to Mahomedan annexation.

Between the mouths of the Krishna and Cauvery the kings of Bijaynagar were paramount; and, though, at about the time of Govinda's travels, there were great internal commotions in the kingdom, there was no falling off in this part of the country. Beyond the Cauvery there were the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura, the chiefships of Ramnath, Setupati and Pudukota, till we reach the Kerala Country which terminates in the Cape Comorin, and was in the hands of petty Hindu kings, most of whom owed a nominal allegiance to the great kingdom of Bijaynagar. At the northern extremity of this coast was the Guvaka Vana, or Goa, which was for a long time the bone of contention between the rival Hindu and Mahomedan kingdoms. In the early wars for the possession of Goa, the greatest Hindu scholar, Madhavacharya, showed consummate generalship, which kept the Mahomedans at bay for a long time. The Portuguese, who had been in India for only ten years, were casting a wistful eye on the possession of this important city. North of Goa were the Sahyadri and the Konkan, which, overrun and subverted by Mahmud Gawan, were still in the hands of the Hindus. The coast of Guzerat was, however, in places, in the hands of the kings of Ahmedabad, and the recent conquest of Juna Gar by Mahmud Begarra had given the Guzerat king a commanding position

on the western sea. Their power, however, did not extend much beyond Diu, the coast-line to the west of which, up to the western extremity of the Kathiawar Peninsula, was still held by the Hindus, as some of their holiest of holy places were situated in this part of the country.

It should be borne in mind that Govinda was not a traveller of the type of Hiounth Shang, or Ibn Batuta. It was no part of his business to note down political changes, bearings and distances of places, manners and customs of the people, and the like. He was merely an humble servant of Chaitanya, whom he regarded as his divinity. The principal object of his diary was to note down the doings of this great incarnation; and, unfortunately for the general reader, Chaitanya cared very little either for history or politics, geography or topography. He cared for one thing, the great shrines of Hindu worship, especially of the Vaisnavite Sect; and these temples or places of worship have been noted down in the work with some care. But to identify the places after such a great lapse of time, without bearings and distances, is often a task of very great difficulty. Nevertheless, if we fail to identify some of them we entertain a confident hope that they will be discovered at no distant date; since to point out a difficulty is the first step towards its solution.

We owe one thing to Govinda, and that to Govinda personally. It is the descriptions which he gives us of the various articles of food in the different parts of the country. In this matter Govinda's interest varies in an inverse ratio to that of Chaitanya. And we believe it will be admitted on all hands that we owe much of the interest of the diary to the keen appetite with which Govinda was blest.

The journey commenced from the place of his birth, Kanchannagar, which is still the great suburb of the city of Burdwan, and is celebrated for its cutlery, and its bell-metal plates. Dr. Waddell attempts to identify it with Karnasuvarna, the capital of Western Bengal in the seventh century. His process of identification is rather curious. Karnasuvarna he translates into Kānshōnā, and Kānshōnānagar he corrupts into Kanchannagar. Sir Alexander Cunningham, or rather his assistant, M. Beglar, identified it with some place in the Manbhum District. Mr. Beveridge, who is the most recent authority on this question, identifies it with Rāngāmāti, in the district of Murshidabad. Kanchannagar was inhabited, in Govinda's time, by skilled blacksmiths and other artisans, who appear to have had some pretence to education; otherwise, the opprobrious epithet, *Murkha*, or illiterate, applied to him by his wife, would not have determined him to renounce the world. It was not the



high Sanskrit culture of the Tols, but a sound Vernacular culture, without which an artisan's life would be an intolerable burden.

No place is more celebrated in Bengali literature than the Parganah Indrānī. It had twelve great marts and thirteen ports on the Ganges. Indrānī on the Ganges was its chief city. A little to the north of Indrānī was another town of nearly equal importance, and this was Kantaknagar, or modern Catwa. The whole Parganah was inhabited by a people who were smart in mercantile business and extremely fond of poetry. It was a great place for religious instruction also, as there were many learned and pious Sannyasis living in it. It was for this reason that, being determined to renounce the world, Govinda directed his steps towards this town. But there he came to know that Chaitanya was the greatest man living for imparting religious instruction to non-Brahmin Hindus.

Nadiya was, in Govinda's time, situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges, a little towards the north of its confluence with the Khariya. But the river has changed its course several times within the last four centuries, and it now flows to the east of the city. The old bed is still visible and becomes quite navigable in the rainy season. It has become extremely difficult to identify old sites of the city. There are some works entitled '*Parikramās*,' or perambulations, of this city, in Bengali, which may give some clue to these identifications. But it requires the skill of an archæologist and the outlay of some money to complete the work. In the meantime it is useless to quarrel with the sectarian identifications based on these *Parikramās*.

The town of Santipore was a place of very little note about this time. Bipradās Pippali, writing in 1495, does not make any mention of this town. It was first mentioned by Vaisnava writers, because one of their Trinity was an inhabitant of the place. There was, however, a very ancient place in Bengal, named Santipore. In a Buddhist Purana, entitled Svayambhu Purana, this city is described as having an immense fortification, with one gate only. One of its kings, Prachanda Deva Burma, renounced the world in extreme old age and proceeded to Nepal. There he lived in the Svayambhu hills, under the name of *Shantikara* Muni. He raised a large structure towards the north of the Svayambhu Mount which still goes by the name of *Santipore*. Prachanda Deva's capital in Bengal, or rather the Gouda country, may have been the town of Santipore in the district of Nadiya. Its surrounding villages are inhabited by a turbulent race, called Gar Gowālā, meaning the *gowālās* inhabiting the *Gar*. They are expert in handling the *lathi*, and with them the pole of the *bangi* is an instrument

of offence. The surrounding villages are also the cradle of the highest Kulinism among the Brahmins. The town might not have been of very great importance in Bipradās's time ; but, since the date of the Chaitanya movement it has assumed large proportions, and at the present moment is in point of population the second town, after Calcutta, on the Hughli.

Leaving Burdwan, Chaitanya and Govinda accepted the hospitality of Kasi Mittra, who lived at a place on the Damodar. This man was celebrated for his hospitality, which in those days meant entertaining Brahman travellers and mendicants with every luxury and comfort available. In this very part of the country there are still some Mittra families who take a religious pride in hospitably entertaining Brahmins and others. The *Mittras* of Nathu on the Damodar have only one aim in life, *viz.*, hospitality. They would refuse shelter to none, and they try to make their guests as comfortable as their position permits. The spirit of Kasi Mittra, in fact, still lingers on the Damodar, even after a lapse of four centuries.

Going one stage to the south, Govinda came to Hajipore. This is a place not to be found in the maps. It was, perhaps, a small hamlet which has been obliterated during the changes of centuries.

Midnapore, on the *Kanshai*, is still a district town. It was then a place of considerable trade. We know very little about the ancient history of Midnapore. But we know that, during the wars between the Uriya, Hindu and Bengali Mussulman Kings, this place rose into importance.

Fortunately the history of the next place, Narayan Gar, is very well known. It was on the borderland of Bengal and Orissa. It commanded the road to Puree, and the chief of Narayan Gar had to be coaxed and flattered even by the emperor. More than six hundred years ago, Narayan Gar fell into the hands of a chief belonging to the Satgop caste, and his descendants reigned there till very recently. The Zemindari of Narayan Gar yielded an income of three lakhs of rupees, and it has now been sold to Maharaja Durga Churn Law. What Narayangar was in the beginning of the 17th century, may be gathered from the description of the place given in Bharat Chandra's celebrated work, *Mansinha*, describing the victorious march of that great Rajput general from Jashor, the capital of Pratapaditya, whom he conquered, to Delhi, *via* Puri. The road to Orissa lay through the fort of Narayan Gar, and the chief's permission was necessary to pass through it.

From Narayan Gar to Jaleswar on the Subarnarekha. A few miles from Jaleswar the river takes a turn, and Chaitanya crossed it at that point.



The next place mentioned in the diary is Hariharpur, a place of considerable trade in those days. More than a century later, the East India Company established its first factory in this city. Stewart and Marshman say that the first Orissa factory of the Company was at Piplai. But Mr. C. R. Wilson has shown, from the early records of the Company, that the first factory was not at Piplai, but at Hariharpur near Balasore. Hariharpur is also mentioned in other Vaisnava works.

As the object of Chaitanya was pilgrimage, not travel, he directed his steps from Balasore towards the west, to the Nilghery hills, in which was the city of Nilgar with its Vaisnava shrines. From Nilgar he crossed the Vaitarani. On the next day he crossed the Mahanadi, too, and reached Cuttack, which city is not mentioned by name. But Govinda speaks of the temples of Gopinath and Sakshigopal, both of which are situated close to Cuttack. The latter divinity is very celebrated among the Vaisnavas. His name, being translated, means the witness Gopal, because he bore witness in order to get a Brahmin released from the charge of stealing butter. His deposition was to the effect that it was not the Brahmin, but he himself, who had stolen it. His temple is situated at a place called Remuná near Cuttack.

From Cuttack to Puri is about 30 miles, and there are two objects which attracted Chaitanya's attention. One is the temple of Ningraj, a form of Vishnu, at an early stage of the journey, and the other Uttarah Nalah, or eighteen ditches, which forms the boundary of the holy district of Puri and from which the pinnacle of the great temple is visible.

It is ordinarily believed that the temple of Puri was built by Ananga Bhima Deva about the year 1192. But the researches of Babus Nagendra Nath Vasu and Manomohan Chakravartty have proved conclusively that the great temple is the monument of the conquest of Orissa by Choda Ganga Deva, who was king of Kalinga, and who conquered Orissa early in the 12th century. Choda Ganga himself was descended, on his father's side, from the Ganga, or Kanka, kings of Karnat, and on his mother's side, from the Chota kings of Southern India. The Gangas, after their expulsion from Karnat, or Western Mysore, in the 9th century, made an exodus into the Kalinga Country and there carved out a small kingdom for themselves, with Kalingapatham for its Capital. In the course of time, as the Kesari dynasty of Orissa waxed weaker and weaker, Choda Ganga conquered that country, and, to commemorate his conquest, built a rather small temple at Puri. It still exists. It is the sanctum of the temple of Jagannath. Ananga Bhima Deva enlarged the temple, built the Jagamohan, or the pillared

portico, made arrangements for the worship, dedicated lands to the temple, and so on. From these facts his name came to be associated with the foundation of the temple, to the exclusion of that of the real founder, Choda Ganga. the temple enjoys the revenue granted to it by Ananga Bhima, and it must be said, to the credit of the Rajas of Puri, that they have, through all the vicissitudes of fortune, from the imperial dignity to petty landholdership, kept inviolate the trust imposed upon them by one of their ancestors, seven hundred years ago.

There is very great difference of opinion as to the identity of Jagannath. The Hindus believe that he is an incarnation of Vishnu. The Buddhists think that he is the Buddhist Trinity in one. There are conflicting theories and conflicting opinions ; but, if one goes deeper into the history of this deity, he will find that the word Jagannath is used more by the Buddhists than by the Hindus ; that the symol of a Buddhist triad, with slight alterations, is the figure which represents Jagannath, Subhadra and Balaram in the Puri temple ; that, in ancient sculptures and in ancient drawings, Jagannath is given as the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, *i.e.*, Buddha ; that the temple was built, or, perhaps, earlier than that, the image was consecrated, at a time when Buddhism and Hinduism already showed a tendency to fusion with each other. There are certain abnormal features about this Vaisnava temple. Outside the gate of the holy city is to be found an emaciated figure of *Ekādasi*, the personification of the fast on the 11th day of the moon, so sacred to every Vaisnava all over India ; she cannot enter Puri ; there the fast is prohibited. One of the essential features of Vaisnavism is neglected at Puri. The Hindus reconciled themselves to this abnormal feature by the theory of *Sthana mahatmya*, or the holy influence of the spot. But a more reasonable explanation is now available. The Buddhists were very much opposed to fasting. The other religions preach, "Fast and pray." But the Buddhists preach, "Feast and pray." There are three distinct traditions about Jagannath ; one is embodied in the Pali work *Databansa*, or *Dantabansa*, the adventures of the two relics of Buddha ; another in the *Utkalakhanda* of the Skanda Purana ; and the third is the local tradition embodied in an Uriya work. Babu Kailas Chandra Sinha, in his work in Bengali entitled *Darubrahma*, or the wooden deity, has given a summary of all the various traditions.

In Govinda's time Prataprudra was the reigning Sovereign of Orissa. His was a prosperous reign. It lasted from 1504 to 1532. The great enemies of his dynasty, the Bahmanis, were



sunk to the lowest condition of weakness and misgovernment. The Kutub Shahis of Golconda were not yet strong enough to cope with him. His distant provinces on the Godaveri were in the hands of a powerful, philosophically inclined Kayastha governor, named Ramananda Ray. He had only one powerful enemy to cope with. This was Alaluddin Hussein Shah Saiyyad, of Bengal, who, having rescued the kingdom of Bengal from the hands of the *Khaujas* and Havshis, who terribly oppressed it, and having checked the aggressions of the Tipras of Comilla and Coach of Komtapur, felt himself strong enough to take the offensive against the kings of Orissa. The result of his quarrel with Pratap Rudra does not appear to have been favourable to him, for history is silent about his conquest in that direction.

Pratap Rudra was himself a very learned man and always had a number of Pandits about him. Some of the best Bengali Sanskritists took refuge at his court, and many Bengali Pandits, in their old age, resorted to Puri, to pass their days in the service of religion and to die on the holy spot. Thanks to the Vaisnava writers, short notices of the lives of all these men are to be found in their writings, and these lives should be very interesting reading. On the appearance of Chaitanya at Puri, Prataprudra was anxious to see him ; but Chaitanya had taken the vow of eternal poverty, and he refused to see a Raja. Chaitanya's instructions were therefore conveyed through the medium of one of the court-pandits, and the king gradually became a strong adherent of Chaitanya's faith. Down to the present day there are more followers of Chaitanya in Orissa than even at the birthplace of Chaitanya.

Chaitanya was followed up to the temple of Atalnath, ten miles to the south of the temple of Puri. This is also a temple of Vishnu and marks the southern boundary of the District Kshetra, as Uttarahnala forms its northern boundary. Those who make a pilgrimage to Puri are bound to see the Atalnath also. Govinda is silent about the route of Chaitanya from Atalnath to the Godaveri, on the banks of which Chaitanya found a kindred spirit in Rāmānanda Rāy, Prataprudra's governor in the Godaveri district.

From the Godaveri the pilgrims went to a place, variously named Trimanda, Trimada, Trimalla. This place is very difficult to identify. Babu Dinesh Chundra Sen suggests Trimallagherry, near Hyderabad, as probably the Trimalla mentioned. But nothing can be said on the point with any degree of probability. It would involve a long detour, however, for one proceeding to the holy places in the south.

The next place is Siddha Bateswar, with a large *bat* tree, supposed to be on the river Panna (Pinakini), near Cuddup.

From Bateswar the travellers went to Munna, due south, on a tributary of the same river, through a pathless jungle extending over twenty miles. From Munna to Benkat was one march, beyond which there was another dense jungle, infested with robbers, the chief of whom was Pantha Bhil. The whole jungle was named Bagula. This was probably the border of the Bijayanagar territories, under the direct administration of their Rājās. Six miles from the southern end of Bagula there was a remarkable temple, dedicated to the phallic emblem of Siva. The three walls of the temple are formed by three hillsides, the southern side being covered by a *bel* tree. This place is known as the Girēswar.

Tirupati, in the Chandragiri Taluk, in the North-Arcot district, is a range of low hills, divided, according to their heights, into upper and lower Tirupati. There are two towns, one in the upper, the other in the lower hills. The whole place is studded with ruined temples and ruined tanks. The scenery of Tirupati is said to be charming. Its Mohanta derives a large income from lands and from pilgrims. Some years ago the Mohanta was put into jail for misappropriating temple funds. There was a temple of Nrisinha in the lower range of the hills, whose favourite beverage was *sarbat*. The temple seems not to exist at the present day; but there is a post dedicated to Nrisinha, with a stone inscription close by.

From this range of picturesque hills the pilgrims proceeded to Kanchipuram, or simply Kanchi, the queen of Southern India, one of the most ancient cities in the world, and one of the greatest places of pilgrimage of the Hindus. Of the seven great holy places, enumerated in the Shastras, Kanchi is said to be equal to Kasi. The seven are

অযোধ্যা মথুরা মায়ী কাশী কান্ধী অবন্তিকা ।

পুরী দ্বারাবতী চৈব সঙ্গতে মোক্ষদায়িকা ॥

In this list Maya means Haridwar and its vicinity, Abantika means Ujjayini, Puri Dwarabati means Dwaraka at the western end of the Kathiawar Peninsula, the residence of Krishna. The verse appears to have been composed before Puri, or Jagannath, became a famous place of pilgrimage, in the 11th century. Kanchi is said to have existed even in Buddha's time, and Asoka is said to have raised some of his *stupas* in that city. It was the ancient capital of a country variously named, in Sanskrit, as Drāvidu, Dravida, Dramila. From the latter word the vernacular Thamal, or Tamil, seems to have been derived. During the first centuries of the Christian era the Pallavas



made it their capital and extended their empire throughout Southern India and the Deccan. They raised immense temples and made Kanchi one of the most imposing cities in India. They lost their empire in the 7th century, but they retained Kanchi and the surrounding country till the 11th century. During the last five centuries of their existence, they were constantly at war with the Chalukyas of Badami, or Batassi. They several times captured Badami and raised it to the ground. But the Chalukyas, in the few instances in which they captured Kanchi, were so awe-struck at the gigantic specimens of architecture in this ancient city, that they did not venture to destroy even a single temple. There is evidence, on the other hand, that they added considerably to the beauty and magnificence of the capital of their rivals. In fact, during the whole course of its existence, up to the present day, Kanchi has never been sacked, except by the Mussalmans under Muhammad Shah Bahmani II, in the year 1477. The city was Hindu at first, then Buddha, then Saiva, and last of all Vaisnava. Sankaracharyya ended his days here, and his ashes remained buried in the Kamakshi temple in Kanchi.

A change came over the spirit of Kanchi about the 12th century. The Chola King conquered it from the Pallavas, and Ramanuja preached his peculiar form of Vaisnavism in that century. The great Ramanuja had his education in this city and preached for the first time there. In consequence of his preaching some Saiva were changed into Vaisnava temples, and the quarter inhabited by the Jains and Buddhists was changed into a Vaisnava quarter. In fact, from this time onward, we hear of two countries, the Siva Kanchi and the Bishnu Kanchi. The Chola Kings retained their position, with some breaks, to the year 1301, when Alauddin's generals overran Southern India and destroyed the ancient state of things. But out of the confusion created by the Mahomedan inroad there arose the strongest and most powerful Hindu dynasty that ever reigned in the South, *viz.*, the Bukka dynasty of Vizianagaram. They conquered Kanchi in 1347 and kept possession of it till the year 1647, when the Kutub Shahis wrested it from them.

During the confusion that followed the dismemberment of the Moghul Empire, it was besieged by Hyder Ali; and the magnificent Vishnu temple of Krishna Deva Ray bears the mark of Hyder's canon shot. The principal object of the pilgrimage to Vishnu Kanchi is the temple of Varada Raj Swami, a form of Vishnu. But Govinda makes no mention of this temple; he speaks of the temple of Laksmi-Narayan. The reason is not far to seek, for the founder of that temple used to dedicate two maunds of boiled milk to the service of

the deity. And Govinda, with his keen appetite, gratefully remembers the temple of such a great donor of sweetmeats, to the exclusion of a far greater object of reverence in the neighbourhood.

Omitting a few small bathing places which are difficult to identify, we come to Chainpalli, or Trinchinpalli, on the Kauvery. The people of this place were strict adherents of the Vaisnava regulations of life. Trinchinpalli stands at the junction of the three southern kingdoms of Pandya, Chora, and Chela, and derives its name from the three peaks or *sira*, the Sanskrit name being Trisirapalli. It was in the possession of the Pallavas. The Kauvery seems to have been a favourite river with these ancient kings. Trinchinpalli played a great part in the struggles between the French and the English for supremacy in the Carnatic during the last century. This was the last stronghold of Muhammad Ali, the friend of the English, and he was here closely besieged when that heaven-born general, Colonel Clive, created a diversion by occupying Arcot, the capital of Chand Shaheb, the besieger. Its rocks bear inscriptions of the Pallava dynasty and were studded with ancient temples.

Nagar is the next place visited. There is a Nagar on the seashore, about 40 miles nearly due east from Trinchinpalli, while Tanjore would be 40 miles due west from Nagar. This would make a long detour of 80 miles from Trinchinpalli to Tanjore, *via* Nagar, which is not very distant from Trinchinpalli. There is another objection to the identification of this sea-coast town with the Nágara of Govinda. It has no temple of Ram and Laksman in it. From this we are led to believe that Nagar was a small hamlet on the side of the Kauvery, opposite to Trinchinpalli, about 14 miles to the north of Tanjore.

Then comes Tanjore, the last capital of the Chola dynasty. From the 10th century downwards, Tanjore was one of the capitals of the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula. During the 11th and 12 century the Cholas were a great conquering race. One of them is said to have overrun even Bengal. They conquered and annexed most of the territory up to the river Godaveri. With the advent of the Mussalmans, in the year 1310, the political power of the Cholas came to an end. But the Chola name was respected for several centuries in this part of the country, and Sadasiva, the last king of Bijaynagar, ordered a descendant of the Chola kings to be the master of certain ceremonies at Kanchipore. At the time of Govinda's diary, Tanjore was subject to the Bijaynagar kingdom, though it had a Chola sovereign of its own, whom Govinda names



Jayasinha, and praises for not exacting tolls from the Sannyasis. After the battle of Talicott, Bijaynagar was deserted, and the family removed first to Pennaconda and then to Chandragiri, near Kanchipore. They had viceroys both at Madura and at Tanjore. But the viceroys, or nayakkas, of Madura gradually shook off their dependence and conquered Tanjore. Shivaji's father, Shahaji, conquered Tanjore from the Nayakkas, and his family ruled there till the year, 1855. It was annexed in 1857. Govinda describes a large tank in a part of the city named Kumbhakarnakharpara. Close to it was a small hill, in the caves of which there were a large number of Sannyasis.

Puddakot, modern Pudukottah, a tributary State, was created, between the years 1673 and 1708, by a Shelupati prince of Ramnad, in favour of Raghunath Tondamadas, of the Kallana caste, with whose sister he fell in love. The state still survives.

Madura is the capital of the ancient Pandya country, ruled by the Pandya dynasty of kings. The Pandyas are mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka, the writings of Megasthenes, the Mahabharata, the Mahawansa, and by the Greek and Roman geographers. Baraha Mihir, who flourished in the 5th century A. D., mentions the Pandya kings in connection with the river Tamraparni and the pearl-fishery. Kalidas, a contemporary of Barahar Mihira, mentions the country and the dynasty; but he gives a different name for the capital, *viz.*, Uruga. Mr. Sewell gives a long list of 74 kings from the Madura *Sthal Purana*. The Pandya dynasty ruled from the earliest times to the Mahommedan invasion in 1310. The great traveller, Marco Polo, came to the Court of Sundara Pandya Deva, who died in 1293. The Pandya dynasty actually came to an end with the Mahommedan conquest; but the name survived for some time longer. Madura continued long under the Rajas of Bijaynagar, till, at last, by the end of the 16th century, their viceroys, the Nayakkas of Madura, asserted their independence and made certain conquests. The titular Pandya dynasty was, however, continued from 1365 to 1623. They may have been the masters of ceremonies, or they may have held certain outlying districts while the city and the environs were in the hands of the Nayakkas. The Nayakkas continued to reign till the year 1731, when the throne was occupied by the widow of the last king, Mīnākshī. In the course of three or four years the Nawabs of the Carnatic occupied the country, and Chanda Shaheb was left in charge of it. Great confusion followed, in which the country was ruined by the successive inroads of the Mussalmans, and the Maharattas, the French and the English.

This state of things continued till 1780, when Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic, and the Zamindars of Madura revolted. The revolt was put down by Colonel Fullerton in 1783 and the country was subjugated. Mr. Macleod was appointed first Collector of Madura in 1789.

Govinda did not come to the city of Madura, but he passes through the kingdom. Leaving Puddakota, he entered what is now the Siveganga Zamindari, and came to *Tripatra*, mentioned by Sewell as Tiruppachatti, or Tiroopashathee, with an old Siva temple with many inscriptions.

Passing through a thick and pathless forest, Govinda came to Srirangam. This place is not mentioned by Sewell, nor is it to be found in the Sheet Atlas.

Then passing through the Rishava Mountain they entered into the city of Rāmnād, within seven miles of which is Ramesswaram.

(*To be continued.*)

---



## A MIDWINTER NIGHT'S DREAM.

I had a vision ; when the night was old  
And in my chamber crept the early cold,  
I saw a lawn on which the sunrise slept,  
And made a silver shimmering, except  
Where little hollows sheltered, from the breeze  
That shook the mist, the bottoms of the trees  
That covered with a half-transparent shade  
Fair festive groups reclining in the glade :  
And what was half a voice and half surmise,  
Whispered, ' Behold ! Thou art in Paradise.'  
Trembling with hope, yet quite abashed by fear,  
I murmured, ' Who am I that I am here,'  
Who never worshipped in Jerusalem,  
Whom the saints never favoured, or I them ?  
The temple of the Priest I did not haunt,  
Nor enter with him into covenant ;  
I gave the Lord no sacrifice for sin,  
Nor, when He was a stranger, took ' Him in.'  
' If neither by thy virtue nor thy wit  
Canst thou, can any, claim the benefit,  
Yet enter freely,' so One seemed to say,  
' I am the Lord, the Light, the Door, the Way ;  
But, if thou judgest that thou art not pure,  
Deem not thy calling and election sure ;  
Make thyself perfect ; if an earthly thought  
Seek harbour in thy breast, receive it not ;  
Be sure the impulses that gave it birth

Show thee still hampered with the fumes of earth;  
If harboured here, the virtue of the place  
Will smite thy heart with pain, at which thy face  
Will writhe, so that the company of blest  
Will turn in horror from so false a guest.  
'But this, 'I murmured,' is the faded story  
My mother made me loathe, of Purgatory;  
And here I wander, an uncertain ghost,  
Not knowing yet if I be saved or lost!'  
There was no answer.

Then a fair form stood  
Before me, floated from a neighbouring wood,  
And, sliding into mine her velvet hand,  
Pointed the other towards the shining land,  
Whose touch such fascination did impart,  
A sudden shock of passion shook my heart;  
One instant all my nerves to madness sprang,  
The next—ah! Now describe the cruel pang  
With which I saw her fly, and woke to feel  
An ague clasp me in its coils of steel.

H. G. K.

---



## THE QUARTER.

---

SINCE the date of our last summary, events of more than usual moment have succeeded one another with almost breathless rapidity. The outbreak of war between Spain and the United States of America and the further development of the situation in the Far East are matters which deeply interest the world at large, and the latter of which possesses a special significance for Great Britain in particular. The brilliant victory gained by an Anglo-Egyptian force under General Kitchener over the Dervishes in the Soudan is an incident which, if of less far-reaching importance, has stirred the hearts of all patriotic Englishmen and produced a profound impression on the great military Powers of Europe. The death of Mr. Gladstone, though it has occurred at a stage in that statesman's career which minimises the effect it is likely to have on practical politics, has cast a gloom over the Empire and left few thoughtful citizens of the world untouched by a sense of loss. In India, the satisfaction which the return of peace and plenty is calculated to inspire, has been seriously marred by the persistence of the plague and its extension to the capital; while in business circles confidence has been rudely shaken by what is felt on all hands to be the perilous inaptitude of the currency proposals of the Government.

Into the details of the quarrel between Spain and the United States, or into the progress of the war, we cannot undertake to enter at length. The conflict was clearly foreshadowed, for those who understood the temper of the parties, by the Resolution of the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, of July, 1896, extending the sympathy of that body to the people of Cuba "In their heroic struggle for liberty and independence," and, still more imminently, by President Cleveland's message to Congress of the following December, in which he said: "It cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained. While we are anxious to accord all due respect to the sovereignty of Spain, we cannot view the pending conflict in all its features, and properly apprehend our inevitably close relations to it and its possible results, without considering that, by the course of events, we may be drawn into such an unusual and unprecedented condition as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to end the contest either alone and in her way, or with our friendly co-operation.

"When the inability of Spain to deal successfully with the insurrection has become manifest, and it is demonstrated that her sovereignty is extinct in Cuba, for all purposes of its rightful existence, and when a hopeless struggle for its re-establishment has degenerated into a strife which means nothing more than the useless sacrifice of human life and the utter destruction of the very subject matter of the conflict, a situation will be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations, which we can hardly hesitate to recognise and discharge.

"Deferring the choice of ways and methods until the time for action arrives, we should make them depend upon the precise conditions then existing; and they should not be determined upon without giving careful heed to every consideration involving our honour and interest, or the international duty we owe to Spain. Until we face the contingencies suggested, or the situation is by other incidents imperatively changed, we should continue in the line of conduct heretofore pursued, thus, in all circumstances, exhibiting our obedience to the requirements of public law and our regard for the duty enjoined upon us by the position we occupy in the family of nations.

"A contemplation of emergencies that may arise should plainly lead us to avoid their creation, either through a careless disregard of present duty, or even an undue stimulation and ill-timed expression of feeling. But I have deemed it not amiss to remind Congress that a time may arrive when a correct policy and care for our interests, as well as a regard for the interests of other nations and their citizens, joined by considerations of humanity and a desire to see a rich and fertile country, intimately related to us, saved from complete devastation, will constrain our Government to such action as will subserve the interests thus involved, and at the same time promise to Cuba and its inhabitants an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of peace."

In March, 1897, President McKinley, then recently inaugurated, appointed a Commissioner to enquire into the state of affairs in Cuba under General Weyler's regime, and, as a result of his report, warned the Spanish Government that the war in the island must be conducted more in accordance with civilised principles and due protection provided for the lives and property of American subjects there. Moved apparently by these representations, the Spanish Government superseded General Weyler and offered a measure of autonomy to Cuba. This offer was, however, spurned by the insurgents, and the struggle continued with unabated fury.

Popular feeling in the United States was further irritated by



an offensive letter written by the Spanish minister at Washington to a friend in Havana, and inflamed to fever point by the *Maine* disaster, which, though probably an accident, was reported by a United State's Commission to have been the result of design, and was generally attributed to Spanish agency.

In the middle of April last, notwithstanding that the Spanish Government had, in the meantime, in deference to further representations from Washington, granted an armistice to the rebels, Mr. McKinley sent a message to Congress, in which, after dwelling on the intolerable character of the situation, he declared that long trial had proved the object for which Spain was waging war in Cuba to be unattainable ; that, for the sake of humanity, civilisation and the interests of the United States, the war must cease ; and he therefore asked Congress to authorise him to take measures to secure the definitive termination of hostilities and the establishment of a stable Government in the island, and give him power to use the military and naval forces of the United States in such way as might be necessary to secure these ends. Referring to the armistice he said that he was sure it would receive the attention of Congress, and, if it attained a successful result, the aspiration of the United State's would be realised.

Congress, however, were apparently determined to precipitate war; and after some dissension over the question of the recognition of a Republic in Cuba, which was favoured by the Senate, but opposed by the House of Representatives, both Houses ultimately agreed to a Resolution declaring that the people of Cuba were and ought to be free, directing the President to demand that Spain should at once relinquish her authority over the island and withdraw her forces from it, and instructing him to use the entire land and naval forces of the country to carry the Resolutions into effect. President McKinley therefore sent an ultimatum to the United States Minister at Madrid to be presented to Spain ; the Spanish Minister at Washington applied for his passport ; the Spanish Government, without waiting for the ultimatum, broke off diplomatic relations ; a United States fleet was sent to establish a blockade of Havana and captured several Spanish merchantmen, and Congress, at the instance of the President, formally declared that a state of war between the two countries existed.

The conduct of the United States in thus intervening by force in the internal affairs of an independent Sovereign State has been the subject of fierce controversy. The question is one which it must be left to history to decide. International law has much to say above the way in which war shall be waged, and its effect on the relations of other Powers with the belli-

gerents ; but as to what constitutes a just cause of war, it is silent. Was the object of the United States in itself a righteous one ? If so, was it of sufficient importance to justify the means ? These are the main issues on which the verdict of the impartial critic must depend. In forming a judgment on the first of them, he will set himself to enquire whether the United States entered into the conflict clean-handed ; and he will not ignore any light that may be thrown on this question by the use she makes of her victory, if successful.

So far, the most important events of the struggle have been the annihilation of the Spanish fleet at Manilla by an American squadron and the bombardment of Santiago di Cuba, apparently without any very serious result ; while its most noteworthy feature has been the unpreparedness of both sides, as displayed in the helplessness of the Spanish navy on the one hand, and of the land forces of the United States on the other.

The question of the ultimate destiny of the Philippines is not unlikely to give rise to grave international complications. It would be opposed to the interest of the United States to retain them permanently, and it was said to be the intention of the President to put them up to auction on the termination of the war, in the event of Spain being then unable to redeem them. It is very doubtful, however, whether she could dispose of them in this way without casting a bone of contention among the Powers. While Great Britain would lose more than she would gain by acquiring them, she could hardly regard their transfer to Russia, or France, or Germany, with indifference.

The course of events in the Far East has been equally damaging to British prestige and discreditable to the insight of Lord Salisbury. When we last wrote, Russia, it will be remembered, had replied to the German occupation of Kiaochau by despatching a naval squadron to Port Arthur. Mr. Goschen, who happened, at the time, to be at St. Petersburg, was assured by Count Mouravieff that the arrangement was temporary and possessed no political significance. Vladivostock, he said, remained, as before, their head-quarters in the Far East, and the fact of the squadron wintering at Port Arthur made no change in the situation.

A remarkable, if somewhat mysterious, and not altogether prudent, speech, pointing no doubt, to the conviction we have just mentioned, and, possibly, to facts unknown to the public, was made by Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham on the 13th May. The foreign situation, he said, was serious and critical, and the time was, perhaps, not far distant when an appeal would have to be made to the patriotism of the people of



Great Britain. England, he added, stood alone ; and it was therefore the duty of the whole empire to draw closer together and to their American kinsmen. Referring specially to China, he pronounced the situation highly unsatisfactory, and urged the necessity of alliances in order to secure its settlement consistently with British interests.

These assurances seem to have been implicitly accepted by Lord Salisbury, and shortly afterwards, the British Admiral having on his own motion, despatched two of his ships to Port Arthur, he was induced by representations from St. Petersburg to order their withdrawal. A few days later, out of deference to further objections raised by Russia, he instructed Sir C. Macdonald to abandon the request that Talienwan should be made a free port as one of the conditions of a British loan to China, negotiations for which were then in progress. No sooner had this been done, than Russia, with a cynical disregard of Count Mouravieff's assurances, demanded from China a lease of both that port and Port Arthur, together with the right to construct a railway to the latter place.

In reply to enquiries made by him on the subject, our minister at St. Petersburg was informed by Count Mouravieff that the uncertainty attending the development of affairs in the Far East had made it necessary for Russia to obtain some place where her vessels in those waters could coal and be repaired in safety. At the same time Count Mouravieff assured him that Russia did not ask for sovereign rights or a perpetual cession of the ports in question, and that Talienwan would be open to foreign trade, like other ports in China. Our minister pressing for a similar assurance regarding Port Arthur, prolonged negotiations on the point ensued, and, as a result of these, Sir N. O'Connor, on the 6th March, reported that Count Mouravieff had assured him that he had seen the Emperor in the morning and that his Imperial Majesty had authorised him to give him the assurance that both Port Arthur and Talienwan would be open to foreign trade, like other Chinese ports, in the event of the Russian Government obtaining a lease of them.

Lord Salisbury, however, was not satisfied with this statement, and on the 22nd March, he sent a strongly worded despatch to Sir N. O'Connor, instructing him, among other things, to inform Count Mouravieff that, while Her Majesty's Government would not regard with any dissatisfaction the lease to Russia of an ice-free commercial harbour, connected by rail with the trans-Siberian railway, questions of an entirely different kind were opened if Russia obtained control of a military port in the neighbourhood of Peking. Port Arthur, he added, was useless for commercial purposes, its whole im-

portance depending upon its military strength and strategic position, and its occupation would inevitably be considered in the East as a standing menace to Peking and the commencement of the partition of China; while the military occupation of any other harbour on the same coast would be open to the same objections with almost equal force. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg, however, was unmoved by these representations, and the result was that Sir C. Macdonald was instructed by telegram to obtain the refusal of Wei-Hai-Wei, on its evacuation by the Japanese, on terms similar to those on which Port Arthur had been leased to Russia, in order to preserve the balance of power, which had been materially affected by the surrender of the latter place to Russia; and, on the 3rd April, Japan having in the meantime expressed her concurrence in the arrangement, China acceded to this request.

Thereupon Russia lost no time in throwing off the mask in the matter of the status of Talienwan and Port Arthur; Count Mouravieff, repudiating his recent assurances, informed Sir N. O'Connor that, while the latter port would be open to British ships on the same conditions as before, Russia refused to make it a commercial port; and, a few days later, it was announced that she had determined to close half the port of Talienwan to foreign ships and convert it into a naval station.

It is understood that the Government intends to fortify Wei-Hai-Wei. It is very questionable, however, whether it will possess much strategical value when the railway through Manchuria is completed.

Lord Salisbury has also been severely criticised for his action in regard to the relations between Great Britain and Germany in connexion with the situation in the Far East. When the latter Power first occupied Kiaochau, he asked for an assurance, not only that it would be made an open port, but that its possession would carry with it no special privileges in Shantung. Nevertheless, when the acquisition of a lease of Wei-hai-Wei by England came to be discussed, he went out of his way to assure Germany that we had no intention of interfering with her "interests" in that province. There are two points, however, to be remembered in connexion with the matter. One is that "interests" do not necessarily include "special privileges;" the other is that we do not know what is behind this apparent complacence to Germany. The apprehensions which recent developments have excited, arise largely from a growing conviction that there is a conspiracy between Russia and France to dispute England's sovereignty of the seas; and the measure of the danger which such a conspiracy would imply would depend materially upon the attitude of Germany.



In connexion with the situation in the Far East, it should be added that an agreement has been entered into between France and China by which the former Power obtains the right to construct a railway to Yunnanfu, the lease of a coaling station at Kwang Chuwan and an undertaking not to alienate any part of Kwantung, Kwangsu or Yunnan.

The Niger question is believed to be on the point of settlement, Great Britain retaining Boussa, and France Nikki, two ports on the Niger, and a wide extent of territory, including the Hinterland of Dahomey.

Among other noteworthy events of the period under review are the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to Peking, where he was granted a personal interview with the Emperor and Queen Dowager; the general elections in France, which have left the Meline Government with a bare majority of 12; the evacuation of Thessaly by the Turks; the quashing of the sentence against M. Zola by the Court of Cassation in Paris; serious bread riots in Milan, Naples and other places in Italy, an extensive strike of coal miners in the United Kingdom, and the outbreak of a serious rebellion in Sierra Leone.

The currency scheme of the Government of India, which was submitted to the Secretary of State in a despatch dated the 3rd March, is based on the assumption that the rupee currency is redundant, relatively to an average exchange of 16*d.*, to an extent which cannot be exactly ascertained, but which probably does not exceed 24 crores of rupees, and that the removal of this redundancy, by the withdrawal of the superfluous rupees from circulation, would result in permanently raising the sterling value of the rupee to the level named and causing an inflow of gold on private account.

In order to effect this object, it is proposed that the Secretary of State should obtain power from Parliament to borrow up to a maximum of twenty millions sterling; that, in the first instance, the Secretary of State, in virtue of this power, should borrow five millions sterling, which should be shipped to India and placed in the reserve treasury; and that the Government of India should then withdraw ten crores of rupees from the reserve, melt them down and sell the bullion thus obtained to the public.

It is calculated that the result of this operation will be to return to the reserve treasuries six crores of rupees, leaving the balance of four crores to be replaced by gold, the amount of the latter metal that would be required for the purpose being £2,700,000. Six crores of rupees would then have been withdrawn from the circulation, while a further sum of four crores would have ceased to exist as coin, and been replaced in the reserves by gold.

Supposing that it were necessary to repeat the operation in a second year, the amount of the rupee circulation would be reduced by twelve crores, while eight crores of the Government balances would have been replaced by sovereigns, the total amount of gold absorbed being about £5,300,000.

It is expected that, before this point had been reached, the exchange rate would have attained the level of 16*d.*, or even higher, and sovereigns would have flowed into the country to fill up the deficiency of current circulation outside the Government balances, caused by the withdrawal of coin. Until this stage has been reached, it is not the intention of the Government to part with any gold; but, when it has been reached, the despatch goes on to say, "the sovereign will be a recognised coin of the Empire, in use in its chief cities at least, and as long as this condition can be maintained, the exchange will be stable at about 16*d.* and a good standard will have been attained under conditions not dissimilar from those prevailing in France, though not a gold circulation in the English sense."

"We cannot help thinking," the despatch continues, "that the determination of the Government to take active steps in the manner we have stated, will have the effect of reversing the influence of the distrust in the future of the rupee which at present not only prevents the importation of gold to meet the demands of trade, notwithstanding the much higher rates of interest and discount prevailing in India, but also keeps sterling capital out of the country."

As regards the cost of the measure, the despatch says: "The interest on a sterling loan producing twenty millions would be £550,000 a year; and this is the maximum charge for interest which we contemplate having to incur. But we have said that it will not be necessary to borrow so much as £20,000,000 to effect our object, and that very probably the first instalment of £5,000,000 will prove to be sufficient. If it should, the interest charge will be about £130,000 a year."

Regarding the Lindsay scheme, which is rejected, the despatch says: "This scheme, like our own, operates largely through the withdrawal of rupees now in circulation, and though it has much to recommend it, our main reason for deciding not to adopt it is that it would involve us in a liability to pay out gold in London in exchange for rupees received in India to an indefinite extent. Even if the ultimate liability were not greater than under our own scheme, still its extent from time to time would be quite beyond our control, and we can easily conceive that we might find ourselves unable to discharge it on certain quite possible suppositions as to the market rate of exchange and as to the comparative redundancy of the existing volume of the currency. Mr. Lindsay, it appears to us, does not give sufficient weight to one fundamental necessity of our position, namely, that we must remit, in the contrary direction to that in which the offer suggested by Mr. Lindsay



would be operative, an annual sum of about £17,000,000 to discharge our sterling liabilities. In addition to his anticipation that the Indian money market could not support the withdrawal of the number of rupees which would suffice to dangerously reduce the gold reserve, Mr. Lindsay relies on the general confidence in the future stability of exchange which the promulgation of his scheme would induce, as being certain to prevent the demand for gold in India rising to a sum which would occasion us any inconvenience; but we think that such confidence is much more likely to be established by the accumulation of a strong gold reserve in India than under his plan, which contemplates the keeping of the reserve in London, and we prefer to establish confidence by that measure without involving ourselves in a liability which we might possibly not be able to discharge."

In a separate note on the scheme, it is further objected to it that the Government would have to pay for rupees received in exchange for gold at an arbitrary rate exceeding their market value.

The ultimate intention of the Government, it will be seen, is to make the sovereign legal tender, and it is mainly on this ground that they reject Mr. Probyn's proposal to establish a gold reserve in India, in the shape of bars, in order to prevent the metal passing into circulation and disappearing into hoards. "We do not think it either desirable or necessary," they say, "that gold coins should, until the gold standard has for some time been established, pass to any appreciable extent into general circulation: under the scheme we have above proposed the bulk of the currency in circulation—and practically the whole of it outside the Presidency Towns—in which the banks might, like ourselves, hold reserves in gold coin—would continue to consist of rupees and currency notes. But we do not think it necessary, in order to secure that result to refuse to have legal tender gold coins of a convenient value. We are, moreover, not satisfied that there would be any smaller disappearance into hoards of the gold bars, which it would be easy to subdivide, than of gold coins. We are also of opinion that the simpler and more direct a monetary standard can be made, the more acceptable it will be to the public. We think that the only state of things which can be called a thoroughly satisfactory attainment of a gold standard is one in which the gold coins which represent our standard are those also which are good for payments in England."

The chief objection to the scheme is that it affords no guarantee either of the ultimate attainment of the end in view, or, assuming that end to be ultimately attained, of the time in which that result would be reached. It will not, therefore, like

Mr. Lindsay's scheme, immediately induce, and it may possibly never reach the stage at which it would induce, that confidence in the future of the rupee on which the flow of capital to India admittedly depends, and the establishment of which would tend, *ipso facto*, largely to remove any redundancy that might exist previously to its adoption.

A committee consisting of Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman; Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir John Muir, Sir Francis Mowatt, Sir David Barbour, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Sir Alfred Dent, Messrs. F. C. Le Marchant, Hambro, Holland, Robert Campbell, and Robert Chalmers, Secretary, has been appointed by the Home Government to examine and report on the scheme. The Secretary of State, in a letter to the Chairman, urges a speedy decision, and states that it will be the duty of the Committee to examine the proposals of the Government and any other matter strictly relevant thereto, including the probable effect of the proposed changes in the monetary system upon internal trade and taxation in India, and to submit any suggestions they may think fit for establishing a satisfactory currency system and securing a stable exchange. At the same time Lord George Hamilton has plainly declared the re-opening of the Indian Mints to be out of the question.

The English Budget, which was introduced by Sir Michael Hicks Beach in the House of Commons on the 21st April, shows a surplus for the past year of £3,678,000, the revenue, which amounted to £116,016,000, exceeding the estimates by £3,570,000, and the most remarkable feature connected with it being the yield of the death duties, which was £1,400,000 more than had been estimated. Of the surplus realised, £2,550,000 has been set aside for the purpose of Government buildings in the Metropolis, the remainder being retained in the Exchequer balance. The revenue estimated for the current year is £108,715,000, and the expenditure £106,929,000, leaving an anticipated surplus of £1,786,000. The grant to Scotland for local purposes is expected to absorb the major portion of this sum, and advantage has been taken of the balance to reduce the duty on unmanufactured tobacco by six pence a pound; to abate the income-tax in respect of incomes between £400 and £700, and to make certain alterations in the death duties and land tax.

In the course of the debate which ensued, Sir Henry Fowler expressed his regret at the decision arrived at by the Government, in spite of these prosperous results, to render no pecuniary assistance to India. He understood, he added, that the Government of India would have to borrow six millions sterling to make both ends meet, and he thought that it was a matter of justice, right and policy that, under these circumstances,



some consideration should have been shown to India, a view of the matter which, in spite of Sir James Westland's arguments on the subject, will be generally endorsed in this country.

The outbreak of Plague in Calcutta, which, so far, has been of a sporadic character, began, as far as can be ascertained, with the case of a moodee, living in Copalitolah, in the Bow Bazar Section of the town, who was apparently attacked on the 16th April and died the same day. This man, it is stated, had arrived from Tipperah two months previously, and in the interval had not left Calcutta, and none of the cases known to have occurred between that date and the 25th May appear to have been imported.

The number of cases ascertained to have occurred up-to-date is small—not more than about ninety, as far as we have able to gather from the published reports; and, though some have probably been concealed, the death-rate during the period, which has been either considerably below, or only slightly above the normal, would seem to indicate that the true number cannot have been much greater. Nevertheless the way in which the cases have been scattered over the town seems to point to a widespread infection, and it is to be feared that the setting in of the rains, and, again, of the cold weather, may be attended by serious exacerbation of the epidemic, if it can yet be so called.

The outbreak has been the occasion of a general panic among the native population, due chiefly to the dread of segregation, and to a belief that the healthy were to be subjected to compulsory inoculation, and this has resulted in an extensive exodus of all classes, but especially of Marwarees and Ooriyas, by the desertion of large numbers of domestic servants, strikes of bheesties, sweepers, carters and coolies, the closing of shops and serious rioting, attended with violence, and in one case with the murder of a harmless European, who was mistaken for an inoculator.

Strenuous efforts have been made to re-assure the people; the rules regarding segregation have been revised, with a view to meeting their objections to it as far as possible; house-to-house visitation, on which the Government of India have insisted, has been entrusted to Ward Committees, and there have latterly been signs that the panic is abating.

The plague has greatly abated in Bombay since the hot weather set in; but there has been a serious recrudescence of the disease at Kurrachee, where the daily number of cases at one time rose above a hundred, and it is still spreading slowly in the Jullunder district.

The battle on the Atbara resulted in the virtual annihilation of the force under Mahmud Effendi, which, to the number of about 12,000, had advanced from Metemmah with the object

of crossing the river and attacking Berber, but, finding the fords strongly guarded, had encamped in the bush in its neighbourhood. There General Kitchener, with a force of about the same number, including three brigades of British troops, attacked them at daybreak, after a midnight march, and dispersed them with a loss of upwards of 3,000, the position being carried at the point of the bayonet, following upon a fierce cannonade, to which the slaughter was largely due. Our loss was, British, three officers, and twenty-one non-commissioned officers and men killed, and ten officers and 106 non-commissioned officers and men wounded; Egyptian, eighteen officers and fifty-one men killed, and 319 wounded. The effect of the victory is to remove the last serious obstacle to the march on Khartoum, which is expected to take place on the rising of the Nile in July.

The Budget of Government of India for the current year, which was introduced on the 21st March, and discussed on the 28th idem, shows that the revised estimates for 1897-98 resulted in a deficit of Rx. 5,283, 100, which is larger than that originally estimated, by Rx. 2,819,100, the difference being due to the expenditure on Famine Relief exceeding the estimates by some fifty per cent., and to the outlay involved by the operations on the North-Western Frontier. The estimates for 1898-99, after providing the full amount of Rx. 1,500,000 under the head of Famine Grant and Rx. 1,488,500 for further outlay on the frontier operations, show a surplus of Rx. 891,400. The rate of exchange for the year is taken at 15. 6d., which was the average rate realised in the past year; and no change is made in taxation. The Secretary of State proposes to renew the temporary debt of £6,000,000 incurred during the past year; to raise a permanent sterling loan of the same amount, in addition to a rupee loan of three crores, and to draw on India to the extent of £16,000,000.

The Bengal Financial Statement, which was laid before the Council on the 27th March, shows that the year 1897-98 was expected to close with a deficit of Rx. 34,15,000, against an anticipated deficit of Rs. 31,07,000, the difference being mainly due to excess outlay on Famine Relief. The balance was thus reduced to Rs. 5,39,000; and, the receipts and charges for the current year being both estimated at the same sum—Rx. 4,55,30,000—, this is accepted as the closing balance of the year.

The Bill to amend the law relating to the Municipal affairs of the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta was referred to a Select Committee of the Bengal Council on the 2nd April; the Bengal Tenancy Bill was passed on the same date, and a new Tenancy Bill for the Central Provinces has been introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council and referred to a Select Committee.



The man Chapekar was executed on the 18th April ; and the brothers Natu have since been released on parole and re-instated in their property.

Among the more important personal changes of the past three months in India we may note the assumption of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal by Sir John Woodburn, in the place of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who has been compelled by ill-health to retire ; the appointment of Sir Louis Kershaw in succession to Sir John Edge, as Chief Justice at Allahabad ; of Mr. La Touche, to act as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces during the absence of Sir A. Macdonnell on six months' leave ; and of the Rev. James MacArthur to the Bishopric of Bombay, in the place of Bishop Mylne, who has retired, and the retirement of Bishop Johnson, of Calcutta, and the Honourable Mr. C. C. Stevens, late acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The Irish Local Government Bill was passed through Committee in the House of Commons, after having been read a second time without a division.

The death of Mr. Gladstone, to which we have already referred, occurred on the 19th May, and was due to general decay, precipitated by cancer in the face. The body lay in State for two days in Westminster Hall, where it was viewed by a vast multitude, and the funeral was a public one, the pall-bearers being the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, Lord Kimberley, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Balfour and Sir W. Harcourt ; but, in deference to the expressed wish of the deceased, the ceremony was of simple character.

Among other names, the obituary of the Quarter includes those of the Dowager Countess of Elgin ; Sir Henry Bessemer ; Sir Richard Quain ; Major-General R. P. Anderson ; Major-General Sir George Bouchier ; Count Emerich Szechenyi ; Zacharias Topelius ; Sir W. Fraser ; Mr. Aubrey Beardsley ; Admiral Robert Coote, C. B. ; Sir Henry Lushington, B. C. S., Ret. ; Mr. James Payne, the novelist ; Sir W. Fraser ; the Earl of Strafford ; Sir Syed Ahmad Khan ; the Rev. Samuel Davidson, D. D., LL. D., the well known Biblical critic ; General Sir Henry J. Warre, K. C. B. ; General Man ; Mr. Samuel French, the theatrical publisher ; M. Charles Yriarte ; Professor Buchler, the Sanskritist ; Colonel Sir Vivian Majendie, K. C. B. ; Mr. James Routledge ; Mr. P. H. Calderon, R.A. ; the Duke of St. Albans ; Mr. Horatio Nelson Lay ; Prince Kung ; Admiral Brin ; the Due de Talleyrand ; Mr. Cooke, B.C.S., late Commissioner of Orissa ; and Arthur Orton.

*July 9, 1898.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

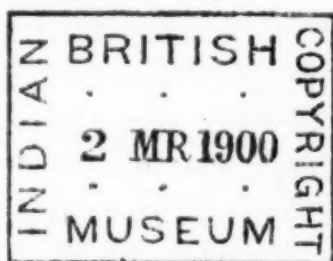
---

### NOTE.

---

**W**E have to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from Mr. R. P. Karkaria, in reply to certain criticisms of his recent article on "The Oldest Paper in India," which appeared in the Calcutta Review for April last, and another from Mr. Richalo Deva Jaini on the subject of the article on Jainism and Buddhism in the same number.

Both these communications reached us too late to be included in the contents of the present number; but we hope to publish them in that for October.





## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*Indian Frontier Warfare.* By Br. Major G. J. YOUNGHUSBAND  
(forming Vol. III. of the Wolseley Series). London 1898.

THE appearance of a new book by the author of "The Relief of Chitral" affords a welcome opportunity to say a word on a burning question of the day which may not be extinct for many days to come.

One of the principal symptoms of the decline of the Roman Empire, one of the most unerring presages of its fall, was the persistence of Barbarian outbreaks on the northern frontiers. From the defeat of Varus, in A. D. 9, to the death of Stilicho, nearly four centuries later, the Romans were perpetually organising expeditions against the Barbarians of the border, effecting temporary triumphs at an ever increasing expense of blood and treasure, until the drying up of their resources and the failure of national virtue and public spirit prepared the way for the ultimate overthrow of skill and discipline by weight of numbers. In the years immediately before and after the commencement of the Christian era, Drusus and his brother—the Neronēs of Horace—had penetrated the Northwest as far as the river Elbe, cutting military roads through the country and establishing fortified posts by which it was believed that the people would be completely subjugated. The Barbarian tribesmen appeared tranquil and friendly, acquiring the military habits of their conquerors and enlisting freely in their army. Suddenly Varus, the Roman commander, was entangled in the mountain-passes, and his force of three legions, or brigades, annihilated by the Cherusci under their chief Hermann, or Arminius. The popular champion was successfully encountered, some five years later, by the son of Drusus; but political reasons led to his recall, and from that date the territory of the Cherusci was never again the subject of Roman conquest, which was henceforth bounded by the Rhine; and that river continued to be the frontier for very many years, in fact so long as the empire held together. But before the close of the first century A. D. other checks had been sustained, in Dacia. Temporarily arrested by Trajan, who was in turn stopped in Armenia; under the Antonines the forward policy slept, and the empire appeared to enjoy nearly three generations of equilibrium and repose.

Severus contracted the Provincial limits in the early part of the third century A. D.; but the division, demoralisation, and

general degeneracy that followed on his death must have greatly weakened the empire for the defence of even a reduced frontier. In 250 A.D. began the incursions of the Getae, or rather the "Goths," who had occupied the country and amalgamated the inhabitants with themselves. In the war that ensued, the Emperor Decius and his son were both killed; but the Goths were for the time bought off and quieted. For the next hundred and fifty years the forces of an effete civilisation are seen contending with those of an evolving series of young nations; until the great mercenary leader was murdered at Ravenna, 23rd August, 408. Stilicho, by birth a Vandal—or Wend—was the last of the able adopted sons who had preserved Rome during a century and-a-half, when Italian valour had quite died out. As Emperors, or as Imperial generals, these barbarian leaders had been Rome's champions against barbarian enemies; and, when there were no more of them left, Rome ceased to struggle.

It seems the fate of all over-expanded Powers. With expansion comes a strain on resources, physical and moral, which luxury and corruption are gradually unable to meet. On the other side the border-barbarians, though often worsted, learn by defeat. The desire to *gain* gradually overpowers the wish to *keep*; sooner or later the bowling gets too strong for the batting, and a new inning begins.

It is by enabling India to prolong the process of defence that frontier-war is of so much use, and a book like this of Major Younghusband's of such interest. In it we learn that the fundamental changes are less than would be inferred from the changed conditions. The bold barbarian still defends his stony villages and ill-cultivated fields with natural resources gradually strengthened by the acquisition of superior arms, trained recruits from the enemies' ranks, and experience of scientific warfare. Still the civilised Power, with officers and men of its own race, supported by well-drilled aliens, uses, with more or less of success, all the superior armament, skill and discipline that have been the result of centuries of scientific study and intelligent practice. Sometimes one side prevails; sometimes the other; but, in the long run, the resources of civilisation prove the stronger, and a sullen peace is patched up.

How to attain that modicum of success, is the subject of the work under reference. Aided by a number of plans, Major Younghusband traces the story of frontier campaigns and expeditions that have occurred during the last twenty years; since the extension of rail-roads, the use of arms of precision and the employment of Pathans and Afridis in the Indian army have revolutionised the conditions of border war.



The author's previous treatment of the story of Chitral will have prepared readers to expect what he has given them here ; a set of brief commentaries, incisive, straightforward, yet never ill-natured, and entirely free from political entanglements. The converging of General Low and Colonel Kelly on the beleaguered heroes of Chitral is told once more, on a reduced scale, but with sufficient detail ; there is an account of the defence of Sherpur by General Roberts, and of the battles of Ahmed Khel and Maiwand ; in all which faults are gently and even generously adumbrated and practical lessons enforced. There is a chapter on "Defensive warfare"--fortunately not often waged by Indian armies ; and due notice is taken of the gallant stand of Lieutenant Grant at Thobal, after the Manipur disaster. Convoys, mountain-artillery, and special arms receive attention ; while short chapters are at the same time devoted to questions affecting commissariat, transport and signalling. The last subject touched on is the presence with military expeditions of a civil officer under the title of "Political," a system of which we have probably seen almost the last. The senior Intelligence-officer, our author says, should conduct dealing with the enemy in strict subordination to the General.

It will be seen that the book is full of interest and instruction, alike for the cadet and the Staff-collegian.

H. G. KEENE.

---

*A Portfolio of Indian Architectural Drawings :* Prepared by Edmond W. Smith, Archæological Survey, North-West Provinces and Oudh : Issued by the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Photo-lithographed by W. Griggs, Hanover Street, Peckham, London. London, W. H. Allen and Company, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company ; Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Company ; Bombay, Thacker and Company, Limited, and the Superintendent, Government Press, North-West Provinces and Oudh, Allahabad, 1897.

THE originals of the photo-lithographs in this sumptuous collection were prepared, in the first instance, on a comparatively small scale, to illustrate the Report of the Archæological Survey of India on the Moghul Architecture of Fathpur Sikri. In order to increase their utility, the Government of the North-West Provinces, with praiseworthy liberality, decided to reproduce a selection of them on a larger scale. The originals, which were executed by native draughtsmen, under the direction of the Compiler, are exquisitely done, and the selection forms a treasury of ornamental design of immense value. The

chief subjects illustrated are the Turkish Sultana's House; Raja Birbal's House; Jodh Bai's Palace; the Jami Masjid, and Salim Chishti's Tomb, at Fathpur Sikri; and the Kanch Mahal at Sikandra. The work of photo-lithographing has been admirably done by Mr. Griggs, and the short descriptive notes which accompany the illustrations distinctly add to the usefulness of the publication.

---

*On Portraits of Christ in the British Museum.* By Cecil Torr, M. A. Illustrated. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, Cambridge University Press Warehouse, Ave Maria Lane. 1898.

THOUGH, if we disregard a single passage in Luke, the received chronology of the life of the Founder of Christianity appears to be supported by the text of the Gospels as it has come down to us, there is good reason for thinking that it is not that which was generally current among the early Christians. In the pamphlet before us, Mr. Torr has made certain portraits of Christ in the British Museum, the peg on which to hang an interesting discussion on this subject. In the works in question, which are inlaid in gold-leaf in two glass bowls or saucers of the type generally associated with the Catacombs at Rome, and which probably date from the latter end of the 3rd Century of our era, Christ is represented as a beardless youth; and this is how he seems to have been generally represented in the works of Christian artists down to, at least, the close of the sixth century, though it subsequently became the practice to depict him as a bearded man. The questions which Mr. Torr discusses are, first, whether the discrepancy thus disclosed indicates a change of belief as to the age of Christ at the time of his public Ministry and Crucifixion, or whether it merely indicates that the older artists preferred to represent Christ at an earlier, rather than at a later, period of this life, and secondly whether, on the former assumption, the older belief is capable of being reconciled with the probabilities of the case and with the facts of Christ's life as recorded in the Gospels. The conclusion at which he arrives is that there are two conflicting accounts of the matter in the Gospels, one of which places the Nativity in the reign of Herod, while the other, which is supported by the passage in Luke above referred to, places it ten years later, when Quirinius took the census of Judea; and he maintains, with considerable show of reason, that the latter view of the chronology links together the events recorded in the Gospels better than the former, the narrative becoming continuous, and the mysterious hiatus required by the current chronology between the date of Christ's reasoning with the doctors in the Temple and his Baptism and Ministry disappearing.



The inference from the passage in Luke to which we have referred, is based upon the fact that the Nativity is said to have occurred when Quirinius, as Legate in Syria took a census of Judea. This census, Mr. Torr points out, is mentioned in an inscription, and also by Josephus, who places it within the 37th year of the era of Actium, that is, between the 6th September in 6, and the same date in 7, A. D. It is, moreover, obvious that Quirinius could not have taken a census of Judea before this date, as it was only when Archelaus was deposed—in 6 A. D.—that Judea became a Roman province.

Now, if the Nativity is placed at the end of 6, or the beginning of 7, A. D., the following results ensue:—Christ must have been born ten years after Herod's death, which occurred in the spring of 4 B. C.; and, instead of being about thirty years of age in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, *i.e.*, in 28-29 A. D., would have then been only about two and twenty years old. He could not, again, have been more than eight and twenty years old at the time of the Crucifixion, even if it was as late as the spring of 35 A. D., while he would not have been more than twenty years old if it occurred as early as the spring of 27 A. D., these being the dates between which it is confined by the known chronology of the life of Pontius Pilate, coupled with the fact that it took place just before a Passover. Of course, Mr. Torr adds, these results cannot be reconciled with those which follow from the other statements in the Gospels on the subject; "but," he says, "the divergence may possibly be explained," and this is the explanation of it which he suggests.

"In the Gospel of Luke the mention of the census is prefaced by the phrase 'in those days;' and presumably the phrase has reference to the statement that comes immediately before, namely, that John the Baptist was in the desert, till the day of his showing unto Israel. This 'showing unto Israel' can hardly be anything but his appearance at Jerusalem for the Passover when he was twelve years old. There is much material for proving that the strict observance of the Law became a matter of obligation when a child attained the age of twelve. It is clear that Christ came up to Jerusalem for the Passover when he was twelve years old. And no doubt the rule was followed in the case of John as well as in the case of Christ. But, if John was twelve years old at the end of 6 or the beginning of 7 A. D., he must have been born at the end of 7 or the beginning of 6 B. C., *the date at which those other passages would place the birth of Christ.* And the inference is this: It was John who was born in 7 or 6 B. C., while Christ was born in 6 or 7 A. D. But by the time the Gospels were composed" (or by the time the present text

was settled), "a group of traditions that originally were connected with the infancy of John, had already been transferred to the infancy of Christ."

Certain it is that the current belief, that Christ was born within six months of John the Baptist, is absolutely incompatible with a number of early pictures of the Baptism in which John is represented as a bearded man and Christ as a boy.

---

*Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.* By the ABBE J. A. DUBOIS. Translated from the author's later French M.S. and edited with notes, corrections, and biography. By Henry K. Beauchamp.

THOSE of our readers who are acquainted with the *Mœurs, Institutions et Cérémonies des Peuples de l'Inde* of the Abbé Dubois, published in 1816, will hardly recognise the work in the corrected and revised form in which it is now presented to them by Mr. H. K. Beauchamp of the *Madras Mail*. The history of the Abbé's M.S. is as remarkable as it is interesting. Remarkable as affording an instance of the tardy methods adopted by Government, not only for giving to the world a work of great public importance, but in doing justice to a writer who has for many years lain under the imputation of having written with insufficient knowledge. The facts briefly are these: The Abbé Dubois, after a residence in India of fourteen years, wrote a record of the manners, customs and ceremonies of the Hindus, among whom he had lived in as close communion as would be possible to a foreigner—adopting their language, their dress, their food, and many of their customs. The M.S. of this comprehensive and valuable work was entrusted by him, in 1806, to Major Wilks, who brought it to the notice of the Government of Fort St. George. It was purchased by Lord William Bentinck on behalf of the East India Company for 2,000 star pagodas, and was sent to London for translation and publication. For some reason or other, however, it was allowed to remain untouched for ten years, when, in 1816, it was published under the supervision of Major Wilks. In the meantime a copy of the M.S. in the records at Fort St. George attracted the attention of Mr. A. D. Campbell, who, not knowing that the original had been sent to England and was actually being published there, proposed to publish an annotated edition in Madras. But, on examining the M.S., he came to the conclusion that, before steps were taken for its publication, it ought to be again submitted to the author for revision and correction, as it appeared certain that ripened experience would lead him to reverse or qualify many of the statements contained in it. It was accordingly sent back to the Abbé, who, as had been anti-



cipated, found a great deal to correct in its contents, which were also augmented by a mass of details not in the original document. So much, indeed, had the ten years which had elapsed since he first compiled it tended to increase his knowledge of the people he described, that his corrections and additions were so numerous that the second M.S. bore but faint resemblance to the first. It was obviously unfair both to the Hindus and to the Abbé that the first edition of his work, with all its imperfections—its hastily recorded impressions and its serious omissions—should have been given to the public while the corrected M.S. was lying hidden away in the India Office Library, and Mr. Beauchamp deserves the gratitude of all students of Indian history for having not only brought the real views of the Abbé to their notice, but removed from England the reproach of having misrepresented him.

The present volume may be taken, then, as embodying the matured impressions of a singularly honest and unprejudiced mind regarding a people whose inner life he had had peculiar opportunities of studying, and among whom he had lived and laboured as a missionary for nearly thirty years. Nevertheless it seems to us probable that, had he been permitted to live among them a little longer and again to revise what he had written, he would have found himself impelled still further to correct some of his judgments, or at least greatly to modify them. We cannot suppose, for instance, that he would still maintain that "there is no nation in the world who think so lightly of an oath or of perjury. The Hindu will fearlessly call upon all his gods—celestial, terrestrial and infernal—to witness his good faith in the least of his undertakings; but should fresh circumstances demand it, he would not have the smallest scruple in breaking the word that he had so solemnly pledged. Woe to the imprudent person who confides to Hindus any private matter that affects his fortune, his honour, or his life! If it served their purpose they would divulge it without any hesitation.

"The unscrupulous manner in which Hindus will perjure themselves is so notorious that they are never called upon to make a statement on oath in their own courts of justice, unless they are persons who bear an exceptionally high character."

There are other sweeping assertions in his book which, to persons well informed on the subject, will appear equally unjust and misleading, and which seem to us to require for their refutation something more than the very slight notes in which the editor has sought to dispose of them. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Abbé wrote more than 80 years ago, and although the manners and customs of an Oriental people change slowly, the influence of foreign rule, and other causes incidental to it, must inevitably tend in the direction

of change of some sort, and statements which may appear incredible to the reader of to-day, may have had their origin in fact when Dubois recorded his experiences. The Abbé was a man of wide sympathies, keen insight and sound judgment, and, in regarding the people in their relations with the paramount power, he does not allow the prejudice of race to blind him; to the demands of justice and common sense. At the present moment, when a concatenation of untoward circumstances has clouded, to some extent, the vision of both the rulers and the ruled, some of his cool-headed conclusions and warnings seem specially apposite. "Since our European ways, manners and customs," he says, "so utterly different from theirs, do not allow of our winning their confidence, at least let us continue to earn their respect and admiration by humane examples of compassion, generosity, and well doing. Let us leave them their cherished laws and prejudices, since no human effort will persuade them to give them up, even in their own interests, and let us not risk making the gentlest and most submissive people in the world furious and indomitable by thwarting them. Let us take care lest we bring about, by some hasty or imprudent course of action, catastrophes which would reduce the country to a state of anarchy, desolation and ultimate ruin, for, in my humble opinion, the day when the Government attempts to interfere with any of the more important religious and civil usages of the Hindus will be the last of its existence as a political power."

And the justice of the following expression of opinion has probably seldom been brought home to us as at the present day: "At the same time I venture to predict that it (the British Government) will attempt in vain to effect any considerable changes in the social condition of the people of India, whose character, principles, customs and ineradicable conservatism will always present insurmountable obstacles. To make a people happy it is essential that they themselves should desire to be made happy and should co-operate with those who are working for their happiness. Now, the people of India, it appears to me, neither possess this desire nor are anxious to co-operate to this end. Every reform which is obviously devised for their well-being they obstinately push aside if it is likely in the least degree to disturb their manner of living, their most 'absurd prejudice or their most puerile custom.'"

The scholarly manner in which Mr. H. K. Beauchamp has performed what must have been no light task, is worthy of all praise, and if we are disposed to complain that a few more notes indicating changes that have occurred, and refuting grave errors would have been welcome, it is but to emphasise our appreciation of his share in the work.





## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

- Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny.*—Personal experiences of 1857. By J. W. Sherer, C. S. I. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd. Paternoster Square. 1898.
- A Philosopher's Romance.* By John Berwick. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1898.
- Corleone*,—A Tale of Sicily. By F. Marion Crawford, author of "Sarcinesca," "Pietro Ghisleri," etc. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1898.
- The Man of the Family*,—A Story of Fortunatus and the Barbarians. By F. Emily Phillips, author of 'The Education of Antonia,' 'The Knight's Tale.' London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1898.
- The Forest-Lovers*,—A Romance. By Maurice Hewlett, London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1898.
- The Government of India, Being a Digest of the Statute Law relating thereto with historical introduction and illustrative documents.* By Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K. C. S. I., Assistant Parliamentary Council to the Treasury, sometime Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1898.
- The Plague in India, 1896-97.* Compiled by R. Nathan, Indian Civil Service. Vols. I, II, III and IV. Simla: The Government Central Printing Office. 1898.
- Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with foreign countries.* Nos. 10 and 11, for the eleven months, April 1897 to February 1898, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1895-96 and 1896-97: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1898.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India.* No. 12, for the month of March 1898, and for the twelve months, 1st April 1897 to 31st March 1898, compared with the corresponding period of the years 1895-96 and 1896-97: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1898.
- Accounts relating to the Trade and Navigation of British India,* No. 1, for the month of April 1898, compared with the corresponding month of the years 1896 and 1897: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1898.
- Report on the Administration of the Jails in the Punjab, 1897.* Lahore: The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1898.
- Returns of the Rail and River-Borne Trade of Bengal during the quarter ending the 31st December 1897.* Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1898.
- Report on the Operations of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, North-Western Provinces and Oudh,* for the year ending 30th September 1897. Allahabad: The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1898.
- Annual Report on the Survey Operations in Bengal during the year 1896-97.* From 1st October 1896 to 30th September 1897. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1897.

*Agricultural Statistics of the Lower Provinces of Bengal for 1896-97.*  
Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1898.

*Report on Publications Issued and Registered in the several Provinces of British India during the year 1896.* Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1898.

*Resolution on the Administration of Famine Relief in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh during 1896 and 1897.* Allahabad : North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1897.

*Report on the Land Revenue Administration of the Punjab for the Agricultural Year, 1st October 1896 to 30th September 1897.* Lahore : The "Civil and Military Gazette" Press. 1898.

*Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1897.* Allahabad : The North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1898.

## IMPERIAL PAPER MILLS COMPANY, **LIMITED.**

**Wholesale and Export Paper Manufacturers.**

**T**HE Mills of the Company, which are fitted throughout with the most improved description of plant, are capable of producing

**350 TONS**

of finished paper per month.

*Prompt execution of all orders can, therefore,  
be guaranteed.*

**Samples and rates on application.**

MANAGING AGENTS :

**MESSRS. JARDINE, SKINNER & CO.,**  
*4, CLIVE ROW, CALCUTTA.*

**Mills at Kankinara, E. B. S. Ry.**